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ABSTRACT

The review and synthesis of the sociological literature on mobility in the United States relies essentially on studies described in professional sociology journals and books written by sociologists. There are three types of sociological stratification: caste, estate, and class. In a class stratified society, the influential factors are education, occupation, and income. Studies generally investigate inter-generational mobility or intra-generational mobility to resolve the conflict of the relationship between occupational mobility and vertical mobility. The factors motivating occupational mobility are based on the values of society. In America, a Protestant work ethic and a pragmatic work ethic were closely interrelated. Many other values are influential in a more limited way. There is also controversy over the amount of mobility, but it is generally agreed socio-cultural considerations are involved as well as labor-union and government programs. The consequences of occupational mobility can be either positive or negative and are not restricted by the direction of the movement. The same factors influencing occupational mobility influence vocational education but not necessary in the same manner or to the same degree. (A nineteen-page bibliography is included.) (AG)

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REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH ON OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Jerome J. Salomone
Professor of Sociology
Louisiana State University in New Orleans

and

Betty Ann Gould
Instructor of Social Studies
J. F. Kennedy High School, New Orleans

ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education
The Center for Vocational and Technical Education
The Ohio State University
1960 Kenny Road Columbus, Ohio 43210

1974

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FOREWORD

Census and placement follow-up data indicate that the typical American is becoming increasingly mobile, moving or changing jobs every four or five years. This constant movement makes it difficult for vocational and technical educators to determine personnel requirements and job availability distribution.

The author examines occupational mobility and its relationship with education as well as the external social forces acting on an individual which encourage this mobility. Numerous implications of occupational mobility on the educational system are cited. This publication should be extremely beneficial to all educators interested in occupational education, helping them understand mobility and providing some suggestions on how the educational system might adjust to this phenomenon.

The profession is indebted to Jerome J. Salomone, Louisiana State University in New Orleans and Betty Ann Gould, J. F. Kennedy High School, New Orleans, for their scholarship in preparation of this report. Recognition is also due Arthur Cosby, Texas A & M; and A. P. Garbin, University of Georgia; for their critical review of the manuscript prior to final revision and publication. Wesley E. Budke, Assistant Director for Information Utilization at The Center, coordinated the publication's development and Alice J. Brown and Paula Kurth provided the technical editing.

Robert E. Taylor
Director
The Center for Vocational
and Technical Education
ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational
and Technical Education

PREFACE

Attempting to bring together in some coherent fashion the plethora of sociological research bearing on social and occupational mobility is a humbling experience from which we will not soon recover. Two years of reading, abstracting, codifying and composing have substantially reduced our energies. But our hopes remain undiminished, that this monograph will serve the useful ends of researchers and teachers, counselors, educational administrators, and students, policy makers in government and industry, and employers and employees. We hope our efforts will result in practical benefits to the community of sociologists and vocational educators and their students who will inevitably take their place in the world of work in their quest for mobility in America.

We have intentionally gone beyond the limits of scientific fact occasionally, preferring to take a few unsubstantiated chances rather than confining ourselves exclusively to what is definitively known and accepted. In every instance where this is done, it should be apparent to the reader, as our opinions are not disguised as facts. "Intuitive leaps" are especially prominent in the final chapter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special acknowledgement is due many people for their assistance in bringing this study to its conclusion. A class project in General Sociology, in the Fall Term, 1972-1973 at Louisiana State University in New Orleans (LSUNO) produced many of the abstracts for this report. Phil Costa and Susan Hanson performed yeoman duties in searching the literature and classifying materials. Marilyn Schrio's unlimited capacity for hard labor in the face of an impossible work load allowed her to type two early drafts of the manuscript.

At The Center for Vocational and Technical Education, Donna Albanese and Sue Maurer were cooperative and efficient typists. Paula Kurth and Alice J. Brown were careful editors whose industrious attention to detail is appreciated; Daleen Wimer assisted with several competent library searches; and Dr. Wesley Budke patiently managed the project while it took an extra year materializing.

Substantive criticism was offered by Dr. Albino Garbin and Dr. Arthur Cosby. Their observations resulted in several major modifications without which the study would have been more imperfect than it is.

Gratitude is sincerely extended to LSUNO for granting Salomone a years' sabbatical leave which provided the free time necessary to conclude the study, and to The Center for Vocational and Technical Education, The Ohio State University for inviting him to spend his sabbatical year with them as a resident researcher.

Jerome J. Salomone
Betty Ann Gould

Dedicated

to

Bryan and Pamela

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REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH ON OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

I. ON THE THEORIES OF STRATIFICATION, CLASSES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Introduction

The subject of this report is occupational mobility and its implications for vocational and technical education. A satisfactory exposition of the relationships between mobility and education depends first, however, upon understanding the connection between mobility and the social stratification system of which mobility is a part. Furthermore, social stratification is but a part of social differentiation, a larger unit of analysis. Accordingly, this first chapter begins with a discussion of differentiation, stratification, and mobility.

Besides establishing a theoretical context for the study, Chapter I also presents a frame of reference which will be used as a guide for the subsequent presentation of substantive findings. After the theories of stratification, classes, and mobility are discussed, we proceed to an analysis of work and values in Chapter II, the basic question of concern being: "Why does man want mobility?" Chapter III addresses what appears to be the next logical set of questions: "Given the fact Americans desire material success, how do they become successful?" and "What are the characteristics of those who achieve success?" In Chapter III consideration is given to the variety of ways in which the social structure aids or hinders the individual in his pursuit of success or mobility. It is not enough to restrict our inquiry to the personal and social correlates of mobility. We must also ask and answer the following question: "What are the consequences of the rise or fall of the individual from one social status level to another?" This question is explored in Chapter IV. The focus of Chapter V concerns the implications of social mobility for society in general and for vocational education in particular.

Limitations, Uses and Purposes of the Study

Limitations. We must identify the limitations of this work so that the reader will have a clear idea of what we feel the study "is" and "is not." First of all, this is a review and synthesis of the sociological literature on mobility in the United States. Psychology, political science, anthropology, economics, history and other disciplines are intentionally excluded, although some references to literature from these areas are included. Each of these subject areas is as important in its own right as is sociology, but to have included them would have been an enormous if not impossible task. Neither is the creative literature--the novel, fiction, science fiction, poetry--a part of this study, and, for the same reason.

Moreover, only some of the sociological literature is reported here. For example, a recent research bibliography on social stratification (Glenn, et al., 1970) contains 440 pages and approximately 6,600 entries covering essentially the last three decades. In the final analysis, what is included and excluded is necessarily affected by our knowledge, and, also, by our preferences.

With few exceptions, we did not report on studies found in doctoral dissertations, masters theses, unpublished papers, or on essays in mass circulation magazines but instead relied essentially on studies described in professional sociology journals and books written by sociologists.

By restricting our focus to the United States, we have neglected some important cross-cultural materials from other countries, particularly Europe. But, because comparative international studies of mobility are so limited at present, it would be premature to attempt to synthesize such information at this time. In the future, such a project will be highly desirable if not absolutely necessary. The most impressive international survey of mobility found that in nine different industrial countries the rates of occupational mobility were all high, with remarkably little difference among them (Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

We have deliberately sidestepped the thorny problem of assessing the methodological quality of the research reported on in this study which understandably generates for the reader a healthy suspicion of why such a decision would be made. To evaluate methodological strengths and weaknesses of hundreds of studies certainly would have made the manuscript inordinately long. But that, in itself, is not sufficient justification. A more cogent argument grows out of nonscientific evaluative considerations. With some oversights and misjudgments, we report on only the most widely known, used, and accepted studies. This does not mean such studies are without methodological weakness, but it does suggest the research community considers them to be the best available. Moreover, in those several instances where the research is accepted as of paramount importance but is challenged by equally significant rebuttals an account is rendered of the methodological (and theoretical) criticisms of the original research.

Uses and purposes. One of the most important characteristics of the scientific enterprise is its wholehearted endorsement of logical analysis as a means of exploring and understanding problems. Such a commitment requires that whatever the unit of analysis (a machine, galaxy, mineral, animal, ideology, or social system), it be studied by separating the whole unit into its constituent elements. This process of studying the nature of a thing (or thought or behavior) by determining, describing and explaining its essential features has stimulated a measure of scientific and technological learning unparalleled in human history; it has simultaneously ushered in an age of specialization hitherto unknown to man. Scientific

inquiry by its nature, then, poses the inherent dilemma of allowing us to see "more and less" all at once. We come to know more and more about specific problems and interests while we concomitantly become increasingly isolated and insulated from other problems and interests. Because of this fact, the contemporary need for periodic stock-taking within disciplines and especially across disciplinary lines is unprecedented. This review and synthesis of the literature on occupational mobility represents such an attempt at stock-taking.

By synthesizing, in comparatively nontechnical language, the principle theoretical positions and empirical findings on occupational mobility from the field of sociology, we feel we have provided teachers and researchers of vocational and technical education a practical and useful source of information for their classes and their own research efforts. The same practical utility should be of value to the community of sociologists, including students, teachers, and researchers.

To say that everyone in society has a stake in that society is obviously a platitude. But we are forced increasingly by the sheer weight and magnitude of current social problems to recognize the functional interdependence of social institutions like governmental agencies, labor unions, corporations, schools, churches, and the like. Since occupational mobility represents one of this nation's most cherished values, it seems reasonable that community leaders should be aware of its implications. Consequently, social planners, union officials, managers, school counselors, clergymen, and others whose occupational roles and responsibilities touch the lives of enumerable people are especially important audiences for this study.

The purposes of the study, in a very real sense, grow out of its potential uses. Hopefully, one result of this effort will be more extensive and more profitable dialogue between sociologists and those professionals trained in vocational and technical education.

Through the use of this information, we hope teachers and counselors in elementary and secondary schools will find added opportunities to enlighten their students about the division of labor and the occupational structure which affects us all.

Finally, we seek through this publication to reach community leaders whose strategic occupational roles give them unusual opportunities for influencing our daily lives.

Differentiation and Stratification

It is universally recognized that no two individuals are alike. In addition to physical differences, individuals may subscribe to different religious convictions, political beliefs, and

economic philosophies, and possess unequal amounts of education, income, power, influence, and authority. These differences ultimately result in individuals having different preferences and prejudices.

No great effort is required to illustrate the wide variations existing among man. Physical variations may be termed ascribed differences (Linton, 1936); they are those over which the individual has little or no choice, such as race, sex, or age. Other variations are cultural in nature; they tend to have their origin, perpetuation, and elaboration primarily, though not exclusively, in learning. Variations over which the person has some measure of control may be termed acquired differences (Linton, 1936).[1] Educational attainment is an obvious example of this type of variation.

Significantly, not all physical and cultural differences make a social difference. That is, all differences are not socially evaluated. For example, physical differences such as one's size, or cultural differences such as political and culinary preferences have little social significance.

It might be argued that some physical or biological differences remain unobserved, like blood type. How then could such an invisible difference as blood type make a social difference? But what about those differences which are observed? Even some of them are not socially evaluated; they remain dormant socially. The color of a person's eyes is open to observation without the corresponding risk of social condemnation or praise.

But many differences do not escape evaluative judgments. Those which are evaluated, and very importantly, those which are hierarchically ranked, form the basis for a system of stratification in any society, providing the evaluations attached to the differences are relatively stable, and rooted in the mores and laws of the society. No system of stratification can develop, much less endure, if the basis for social judgment is unstable. If wealth is socially valued and eagerly pursued today, when poverty cannot be the hope and desire of those with ambition tomorrow. If land is the basis of aristocracy today, then membership in that elite cannot be based on religion, or some other unrelated characteristic tomorrow.

The stratification system is dependent upon the mores and laws which support the beliefs about the justice, appropriateness, and fundamental morality of the existing system. It would be impossible to sustain a society with strong materialistic inclinations, such as our own, if law and custom *dictated* that our most important, successful, and wealthy people were also known as our most corrupt, inauthentic, and immoral citizens. When such a

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[1]It was in *The Study of Man* that Linton (1936) introduced into the social science literature the concepts of status and role, then proceeded to specify two types of statuses, ascribed and achieved (or acquired). We are following Linton's conceptualization.

situation does exist it is incongruous to the point that it is newsworthy, and therefore likely to attract mass media attention.[2]

At the highest level of abstraction, Tumin (1967) identifies four major processes present in any system of stratification: differentiation, ranking, evaluation, and rewards. According to Tumin, any treatment which holds out promise of understanding social stratification must consider these analytically separate, divergent, and often apparently anomalous features of society. All four processes exist irrespective of the particular variations to be found among the systems of stratification throughout the world.

Types of Stratification

Although every society has a system of stratification, the types of stratification differ from one society to another. Among these varying types, three distinct kinds of stratificational systems are identified by Mayer (1970): caste, estate, and class.

The Caste System

In an ideal[3] caste system, the population is stratified in a permanently rigid system of superiority and inferiority. Each individual is placed in the system according to his birthright, inheriting his caste level, social position, privileges and obligations from his parents. Since, theoretically, there is no provision for mobility within the system, he cannot change from one stratum to another during his lifetime. Although each caste system has its own special peculiarities, they have been found throughout the world. The Spartan Helots and North American black slaves are examples of people who approximated closed caste groups; nevertheless, traditional or pre-colonial India provides the best illustration of a fixed caste system. There, according to religion, custom, and law, castes were endogamous. Members of the caste, or more precisely the subcastes, were required to marry at their own subcaste level. The kind of work available to a person in the caste system was also limited by occupational inheritance, whereby sons assumed their fathers' kind of work. Finally, caste proscription compelled certain patterns of social avoidance, so that individuals were permitted to

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[2]It must be stressed that we are speaking about a system of beliefs. Law and morality are codes or blueprints for conduct, not the actual conduct itself. Certainly some leaders are corrupt; but our belief system *dictates* that they should not be.

[3]"Ideal" should not be interpreted to mean "exactly as one would desire." The term is used to refer to an ideal type, or "pure" type in the sense that Weber (1947) developed the concept.

form personal, intimate associations and interact only with their social equals; to wit, those of the same subcaste standing (Anderson, 1971).

The Estate System

Typically found in feudal societies, an estate system is based on land tenure. Estate systems are less rigid than castes. Generally there are several distinct strata, each distinguished by law and custom. Some type of royal family, and below them, a hereditary landholding military aristocracy and a clergy, usually form the ruling classes. In the middle are a small group of merchants and artisans while at the bottom are large numbers of peasants and serfs. Entry into one estate is customarily by inheritance. However, one may advance through favor from the royal family, by marriage, or by entering the military or priesthood. Advancement then is possible, but not frequent. As a rule, once established, the estate system tends to be relatively stationary. One of the best examples of the estate system is that of the feudal era in medieval Europe.

The Social Class System

In the social class system, stratification is based on inequalities of wealth and income. Classes are not differentiated by religious station, as among Hindus, or by title or property, as in the European middle ages. Classes tend to develop certain life-styles and consciousness of kind on the basis of their similarities. There is no difference between classes under the law. Theoretically, mobility is practiced by anyone. A hierarchy of social importance develops from the formation of status groups—those people who have banded together because they share similar attitudes, fashions, or behavior and who treat others and who are treated by them either as inferior or superior. Since the members of classes are legally free to change class affiliation and identification, this system is less visible and consequently more difficult to specify, even though it may be no more complex than either castes or estates.

Although an individual acquires a social position at birth, this does not indeterminately fix his position during adulthood. Social position may, in fact, be changed through subsequent personal accomplishments or failures. Thus, class societies are competitive and mobile through both factors of ascription and acquisition.

The critical distinctions among castes, estates and classes are aptly identified by Bergel (1962) who maintains that: caste stratification is a system of social inequality based on religion; estate stratification is a system of social inequality based on land; class stratification is a system of social inequality based on wealth which is either inherited or derived from income.

Reasons for a System of Stratification

There are three major theoretical explanations for a system of stratification. The first, the functionalist explanation, deals primarily with the rewards and prestige of the various positions of rank within a system. The second, the conflict view, purports that stratification arises from group antagonism and the dissension between powerful groups. Thirdly, what could be called the synthetic argument attempts a rapprochement of both the functionalist and conflict positions.

Functionalist Explanation

One of the functions of society is to motivate its members to want to perform competently the manifold jobs found in the division of labor. If the responsibilities, rewards, and importance of each different position were similar, then anyone would be as likely as anyone else to want to fill any given position. However, according to the functionalist argument, some positions require special training or talent; some jobs are technically more important and socially more valuable than others; and, some work is more pleasant than others. It is essential, then, that a reward system be established to attract the proper individuals to the right positions. Therefore, society develops through its system of stratification a reward system for matching people and jobs. These "rewards and their distribution . . . attached to social positions . . . become part of the social order; they are the stratification" (Davis, 1949). Three types of rewards, called incentives, are available: economic incentives, which provide for the physical needs and material luxuries of an individual; aesthetic incentives, which provide pleasure and distraction; and, symbolic incentives, which contribute to "self-respect" and "ego-expansion." The most difficult and most important jobs carry with them relatively large amounts of economic, aesthetic, and symbolic incentives, whereas the least difficult and least important jobs carry correspondingly less of each of these incentives. This unequal system of rewards and incentives promotes inequality of positions within any society and in this way the society is stratified. As such, there is a state of latent cooperation or consensus between societal needs and requirements, and human willingness to satisfy those needs and requirements. In sum, the functionalist explanation relies heavily on the idea of cooperation. In this view, social stratification is beneficial for society. Without it, the division of labor would not be viable. The system of social stratification is "thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the more qualified persons" (Davis and Moore, 1945).

The functionalist argument has increasingly come under attack since Tumin (1953) first rejected it 20 years ago. It is now easy, claims Anderson (1971) to challenge the assertion

that the physician who prescribes medicine is more important to his patient than the chemist who invents it, or the trucker who delivers it, or the pharmacist who sells it. More importantly, continues Anderson, "In taking a straight look at the world, we immediately see that people are not sifted and sorted into appropriate positions of privilege and disprivilege by some unseen hand of society . . . . The outstanding fact of social inequality is that people are born into family positions of privilege and disprivilege."

Conflict View

While the functionalist explanation of stratification emphasizes integration, cooperation, and consensus, the conflict view stresses dissension. Unlike the inevitability of stratification in the functionalist explanation, adherents to the conflict view consider stratification as a likely universal but not as a necessity. It arises from group competition, conflict and conquest. Rather than easing his social existence, the individual is hampered by stratification. As power groups clash, the system of societal equilibrium is imbalanced and blocks the normal functioning of the individual and society. Instead of considering the whole of society, emphasis is centered on groups and their struggles and, in this sense, the conflict view is anti-systematic in nature (Dahrendorf, 1959; Roach, et al., 1969).

The conflict explanation is parsimoniously described in Bottomore's characterization of the social class system as operating "largely through the inheritance of property, to ensure that each individual maintains a certain social position, determined by his birth irrespective of his abilities" (1966:11).

Conflict theorists claim the persistence over time of a relatively fixed distribution of power and privilege operates against the best interests of society because it:

1) Limits the discovery of the full range of talent in a society. . .

2) Operates essentially as a conservative influence by providing the elite with the political power necessary to secure acceptance of a status quo ideology.

3) Distributes self-images unequally in a population, hence inhibiting the development of the creative potential inherent in men.

4) Encourages hostility, suspicion, and distrust among the various segments of a society, hence limiting social integration.

5) Distributes unequally the sense of significant memberships in the society; hence it distributes the motivation to participate unequally in a population (Roach, et al., 1969).

The Synthetic Rapprochement

Synthesizers seek to preserve the best of both possible worlds by combining elements of the functionalist and conflict positions. They observe that both cooperation and conflict are characteristic of human interaction. The cooperative theories deal with society as a whole; conflict theories center on individual processes. Each aspect of society should be considered to provide a balanced view. A synthesis of these two schools combines elements of both the conservative and radical traditions. For example, in a synthetic approach, group cooperation is essential for societal well-being, but much cooperation in an industrial society exists primarily because men can fulfill certain individual needs only through cooperative efforts. Since human needs and wants are rarely satisfied, conflict arises among men for control of goods and services. Those who gain extra goods enjoy extra power and privelege as a result. These qualities in turn determine the distribution of surpluses. Those who have excess goods are allocated privilege in association with the power they control. In a primitive society, most of the goods produced are allocated to the group members on the basis of their needs. But in a technologically advanced society, where excesses of goods are easily produced, large surpluses accrue. Those who control these goods will have power, privilege and prestige. In such a society, knowledge of the use of surpluses becomes important. This type of technical skill is readily marketable and becomes, in effect, both a source of power and a power equalizer in industrial societies (Lenski, 1966; Roach, et al., 1969).

A review of the types of systems of stratification as well as a brief discussion of the three views which attempt to explain why social stratification is universal provides a necessary perspective for our further analysis of the class system of social stratification.

Determinants of Class Stratification

In a class stratified society, differences between the classes are dependent primarily on three factors: education, occupation, and income. These three considerations comprise the essential qualities which produce a distinct life-style. It is the emergent life-style of an individual that draws him to a particular group and enables him to gain acceptance to it, while simultaneously forcing his rejection from certain other groups.

Education

Part of the American ideal, says Williams (1970), is an assumption that people should be able to "rise or fall according to their own merits." The principal way in which one does this is to get an education. The educated man is thought to have developed attributes that

insure his ability to perform adequately in his chosen occupation. Yet, the extent to which educational accomplishments actually affect occupational success can never be fully assessed, for the American educational system emphasizes both abstract theoretical ideals and concrete technical training. The schools openly attempt to develop personal qualities in the student that will enable him to be a good worker and a good person as well.

Public education in the United States stresses middle-class values of discipline, conformity to group standards, and competitive advantage.[4] These cultural prescriptions are essential to success in school and, more importantly, to later success in the world of work. That the amount and type of education is a factor in occupational success is not surprising. In most fields of work, a high school diploma or a college degree is one of the prerequisites for even gaining an interview (Williams, 1970).

Occupation

More than any other single factor, occupation is used in measuring socioeconomic status. It is assumed by knowing a person's occupation, that the individual's education, training, skill, responsibility and income can be estimated and an appraisal of his life-style and status can be made (Roach, et al., 1969).

One of the most influential classifications of occupations rests upon that assumption (Edwards, 1943). It is composed of six categories:

1) Professional persons;

2) Proprietors, managers, and officials;

3) Clerks and kindred workers;

4) Skilled workers and foreman;

5) Semiskilled workers; and

6) Unskilled workers.

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[4]As discussed further in Chapter III, the middle-class standards toward which student behavior is aimed tend to decrease the probability of success for the lower-class student.

Persons in each of these occupational groupings are presumed to follow certain life-styles and enjoy the appropriate income to maintain their standards of living. Within each category, interests, attitudes and beliefs, values, and political and social affiliations are roughly similar. This encourages the perpetuation of "social and cultural gaps" between and among occupational classes. At the top of this list are those occupations which include managerial positions, ownership, and "clean work" or (head work) instead of "dirty work" or (hand work). The lower half of the list is comprised of those occupations in which the worker is under supervision, and usually works with his hands. Whereas top positions involve working with people, the lower ones deal with things (Reissman, 1959).

The distinction between mental and manual labor has been the most significant and persistent factor in the evaluation of occupational prestige. The best example, to date, of this kind of occupational prestige ranking is the North-Hatt study conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in 1947.

TABLE 1

North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale

Rank	Occupation	Prestige Score
1	U.S. Supreme Court Justice	96
2	Physician	93
3	State Governor	93
4	Cabinet member in the federal government	92
5	Diplomat in the U.S. Foreign Service	92
6	Mayor of a large city	90
7	College professor	89
8	Scientist	89
9	United States Representative in Congress	89
10	Banker	88
11	Government scientist	88
12	County judge	87
13	Head of a department in a state government	87
14	Minister	87
15	Architect	86
16	Chemist	86

TABLE 1 (Continued)

North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale

Rank	Occupation	Prestige Score
17	Dentist	86
18	Lawyer	86
19	Member of the board of directors of a large corporation	86
20	Nuclear Physicist	86
21	Priest	86
22	Psychologist	85
23	Civil engineer	84
24	Airline pilot	83
25	Artist who paints pictures that are exhibited in galleries	83
26	Owner of factory that employs about 100 people	82
27	Sociologist	82
28	Accountant for a large business	81
29	Biologist	81
30	Musician in a symphony orchestra	81
31	Author of novels	81
32	Captain in the regular army	80
33	Building contractor	79
34	Economist	79
35	Instructor in the public schools	79
36	Public-school teacher	78
37	County agricultural agent	77
38	Locomotive engineer	77
39	Farm owner and operator	76
40	Official of an international labor union	75
41	Radio announcer	75
42	Newspaper columnist	74
43	Owner-operator of a printing shop	74
44	Electrician	73
45	Trained machinist	73
46	Welfare worker for a city government	73
47	Undertaker	72
48	Reporter on a daily newspaper	71

TABLE 1 (Continued)

North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale

Rank	Occupation	Prestige Score
49	Manager of a small store in a city	69
50	Bookkeeper	68
51	Insurance agent	68
52	Tenant farmer (one who owns livestock and machinery and manages the farm)	68
53	Traveling salesman for a wholesale concern	68
54	Playground director	67
55	Policeman	67
56	Railroad conductor	67
57	Mailman	66
58	Carpenter	65
59	Automobile repairman	63
60	Plumber	63
61	Garage mechanic	62
62	Local official of a labor union	62
63	Owner-operator of a lunch stand	61
64	Corporal in the regular army	60
65	Machine operator in a factory	60
66	Barber	59
67	Clerk in a store	58
68	Fisherman who owns his own boat	58
69	Streetcar motorman	58
70	Milkman	54
71	Restaurant cook	54
72	Truck driver	54
73	Lumberjack	53
74	Service-station attendant	52
75	Singer in a night club	52
76	Farm hand	50
77	Coal miner	49
78	Taxi driver	49
79	Railroad section hand	48

TABLE 1 (Continued)

North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale

Rank	Occupation	Prestige Score
80	Restaurant worker	48
81	Dock worker	47
82	Night watchman	47
83	Clothes presser in a laundry	46
84	Soda-fountain clerk	45
85	Bartender	44
86	Janitor	44
87	Sharecropper (one who owns no livestock or equipment and does not manage farm)	40
88	Garbage man	35
89	Street sweeper	34
90	Shoeshiner	33

Source: National Opinion Research Center (1947:3-13).

A retest of the 1947 NORC occupational prestige study in 1964 found a near perfect rank order correlation (r=.99) between prestige scores derived from the 1947 study and those derived from the 1963 retest. Based on the NORC data and other studies dating back to 1925 the authors surmised that " no appreciable changes in the prestige structure of occupations have occurred in the United States in the last four decades. . . . The overriding conclusion must be that the structure of occupational prestige is remarkably stable through time as well as space" (Hodge, et al., 1964).

If a person succeeds or fails in his job, he will also eventually experience a corresponding gain or loss in social status, although there is a status lag involved simply because it takes time to divest yourself of previous class linkages while simultaneously acquiring the accoutrements of the new class. After all, promotion means higher prestige and more income. Associations will change and the person will begin to mingle socially with members of his new and more prestigious status group (Blau, 1956). Correspondingly, the loss of prestige and income typically accompany demotion, as do feelings of occupational anxiety and personal worthlessness (More, 1962).

Income

Obviously, income, if adequate, is easily translated into a desired life-style. "The style of life of a class depends on income and education, without being exclusively determined by them" (Blau and Duncan, 1967).

The amount of income and the manner in which it is used combine to create a class image of the individual.[5] In the lower stratum, a greater portion of income is allocated for essentials, with little or no money remaining for luxuries. In the middle classes, a larger proportion is spent on luxuries and recreational pursuits and, in the upper classes, an even greater portion is assigned to leisurely nonessentials.

Americans tend to spend a large amount of money on material goods. This fact has been strongly criticized by observers of American society; however, such an emphasis on materialism is important in reducing the observable differences between classes. By using material possessions as an important reflection of achieved status, the emphasis on ascribed status is reduced, or at least becomes latently invisible. Consequently, the accessability of possessions makes it easier for the lower classes to achieve acceptable social status.

Thus, in this country, those fortunate enough can, through their purchasing power, eventually buy their way into a class different from the one with which they originally were affiliated. If life-style is dependent on money, then a reduction in income naturally prevents the continuation and perpetuation of a former manner of living. As income is reduced, mode of living necessarily is changed, and social status will eventually change, too. The person, in effect, will be socially downwardly mobile (Blau and Duncan, 1967).

We have concentrated entirely on education, occupation, and income as determinants of social class without giving proper attention to less compelling, but nevertheless influencing, factors such as religion, ethnicity, neighborhood, family, and place of birth. These factors cannot be discounted entirely, but in comparison with education, occupation and income, they are only secondary considerations. They are treated in later sections of this study.

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[5]Although it is undoubtedly somewhat risky to ignore source-of-income altogether in stratificational research, it does seem to be losing strength as a determinant of class position in American society. This opinion warrants empirical testing, to be sure, but words describing impoverished influentials seem a contradiction in terms today, whereas, 30 years ago the phrase decadent-aristocracy (whose power, prestige and privilege derived in large part from the source of their wealth) was a widely understood expression.

Occupational Mobility

The social scientific community does not present a united front on the connection between occupational mobility and vertical mobility. Some equate the two, others do not. It would be a misrepresentation to claim that the argument is either recent or insignificant. As early as 1848, Marx felt social class was determined by a person's relationship to the means of production. The owners of production represented one class, the bourgeoisie; the workers, who were not the owners of anything except their labor, represented the proletariat. Using Marx's scheme, the social class position of a person may be identified simply by determining his occupation. According to Marx, occupational advances are very limited, and only occur when a wage worker somehow miraculously becomes a capitalist. Marx advanced the opposite argument more forcefully by emphasizing the high probability that small shop owners would be reduced to wage workers through what he claimed was the exploitative efforts of capitalistic entrepreneurs. In sum, Marx considered occupational mobility and vertical mobility as one and the same.

Weber (1947), a sympathetic critic of Marx, broadened the base of Marx's admittedly narrow economic deterministic conception of social class. He criticized the view that the work a man does is the all-inclusive clue to his social class standing. As important as Weber recognized work to be, he nevertheless insisted that a full appreciation of social class must include considerations of class (economic man), status (social man), and power (political man). To a high degree, the three are conditioned by each other, so that each affects and is affected by the other (Weber, 1947). Weber's point is that social class is determined by more than just economic considerations. Consequently, occupational mobility (essentially an economic factor) cannot be equated with vertical mobility.

The contemporary significance of the argument should not be discounted; it is not yet settled. Familiarity with those who continue to debate the issue forces this opinion: currently, social scientists say occupational mobility and vertical mobility are somewhat different, but they are not definitive and conclusive in specifying the difference; furthermore, in the overwhelming majority of cases where empirical research is undertaken, the two are operationally defined as alike. Because this section of the study reports the findings of empirical research it seems appropriate to treat occupational mobility and vertical mobility as if they are identical, without getting into the apparently endless debate over the nature and extent of their differences.

Occupational mobility is simply a change (either a rise or fall) in occupation or job level. There are four identifiable causes of occupational movement:

1) individual mobility – the upward or downward movement of individuals, which creates job openings for others either above or below them;

2) immigrational mobility – the influx of migrants into America,[6] which affects job mobility because the newer arrivals usually fill semiskilled and unskilled positions, allowing second or third generation citizens to move into higher status jobs;

3) reproductive mobility – the differential fertility rate between families at the upper levels of society and those families at the lower levels, which generates movement because persons at the top have fewer children than persons at the bottom of society. (This allows more room at the top for those from the lower levels.)

4) technological mobility – the occupational structure is affected by changing both the types and numbers of certain jobs (most often in the upper levels). With the increasing complexity in the industrial system, skilled jobs increase and, correspondingly, unskilled jobs decrease.

This opens up a larger number of technical and administrative positions and allows the upward movement of many children of unskilled workers. But it also correlatively wipes out many previously existing menial jobs, thereby creating more problems in unemployment (Kahl, 1965).

Types of Mobility

Studies of occupational success and failure regularly take one or both of two forms: studies of inter-generational mobility and studies in intra-generational mobility.

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[6]The central theme of an exciting monograph by Joseph Lopreato deals with the double-pronged advantages of immigration in Calabria, in Southern Italy. Those persons without jobs or with only menial jobs left home for better opportunities elsewhere. Their economic situation was improved by aggressively seeking and finding jobs in their new communities which were superior to the ones they left behind in Calabria, providing they had a job to leave behind. By leaving Calabria, they also reduced the oversupply of labor, thereby making the remaining workers more competitive in the labor market. Consequently, even those who stayed behind were aided by the immigration. See, Joseph Lopreato, *Peasants No More: Social Class and Social Change in Southern Italy* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1967).

Inter-generational Mobility

Inter-generational studies have as their purpose determining the amount, the direction, and the extent of occupational change between fathers and sons. Inter-generational studies attempt to answer the questions: Has the son gained or lost ground on his father? Or, has the family been occupationally stationary over two or perhaps more generations?

We know that approximately two-thirds of all working sons have jobs different from those of their fathers; however, the difference between occupations is not great, mostly being a single level (Kahl, 1965; Roach, et al., 1969). When family background is coupled with educational attainment, several conclusions concerning inter-generational mobility are evident: (1) children from low status families do not have as much chance to stay in school as children from high status families; (2) those with only a high school education usually work in manual occupations while those with some college education occupy more non-manual jobs; (3) college education in many instances is the only factor that enables sons of manual workers to enter non-manual occupations. These conclusions point to the advantages enjoyed by children of high status fathers. They also reveal the disadvantages of being born into a low status home. It is not a secret among social scientists that: "Occupational and social status are to an important extent self-perpetuating" (Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

Placement in a particular social stratum is initially determined by the family into which an individual is born. Subsequently, income, education, values and beliefs, and general life-style reflect this class position. Each of these factors interacts with the others and reinforces the effects produced by the social structure so as to produce a cycle of preservation of the level at which one lives. An individual from a higher stratum may advantageously utilize his education and the competitive attitudes and success oriented values of his family to assume either the same type of job as his father, or one at a higher level. Conversely, the lower-class individual might then be "trapped" in his stratum–his future molded by the level of his education, his father's occupation, and his parental ideals and attitudes (Harrington, 1962; U.S. Congress, 1964; Anderson, 1971).

In a relatively recent study of trends in inter-generational occupational mobility, Jackson and Crockett (1964) reviewed data from a 1957 study and compared it with data from studies in 1945, 1947, 1952, and 1955. Their conclusions follow:

1) A good deal of movement from farm (rural) to manual (urban) occupations occurred.

2) No outstanding change in occupational mobility has occurred since World War II. However, the mobility that has occurred has been in an upward direction.

3) The relationship between the occupation of father and son is not great and, in fact, is decreasing.

Intra-generational Mobility

Intra-generational mobility differs from inter-generational mobility in that the former deals with personal mobility through upward or downward movements during a single lifetime, while the latter compares father and son movements. Studies of intra-generational mobility deal with careers. They attempt to determine if the person has advanced or retreated on the ladder of occupational success during his tenure in the labor force or if the individual has remained pretty much at a standstill. One significant conclusion that can be drawn from studies of intra-generational mobility is that ". . . men are more likely to change from one job to another than to shift occupations, and that they are more likely to change occupations than to move to another community" (Lipset and Bendix, 1959). Generally, men who are mobile in one way are mobile in another; that is, those who are likely to change jobs are also likely to change occupational levels. The least mobility probably occurs in movement out of one's community, for as we have just seen, resistance to geographical movement is greater than resistance to changing occupations within the same community.

Occupational movement occurs primarily within distinct occupational categories, while, by contrast, there is little shifting of personnel between manual and non-manual jobs. Movement across these barriers does occur; however, when it does, it is frequently only temporary (Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

Vertical Mobility

Both inter-generational and intra-generational occupational mobility are subsumed under the more general heading of vertical social mobility.

Over and over again we run up against the prevailing American ideal of success through mobility, with a corresponding attitude that success is achieved through hard work and perseverance. The Protestant Ethic is to a great degree responsible for this belief, since it lays stress on hard work, thriftiness, saving, and an avoidance of wasted time and emotional indulgences to better assure salvation (Bendix, 1962).

As a result, North Americans strive to be upwardly mobile. The occupational structure permits this by having developed "semi-permeable class boundaries that limit downward mobility between generations as well as within lifetime careers, though they permit upward

mobility" (Blau and Duncan, 1967). There is commonly more mobility within each class than between them. The greatest barriers lie between the classes, especially between white-collar (middle class) and blue-collar (lower-class) occupations (Mayer, 1970).

It appears there is more inter-generational than intra-generational mobility between classes (Lipset and Bendix, 1959). According to the adage of "doing better than father," and because of an increase in educational attainment, it is more likely that a son will cross over class lines than will his father during his lifetime. It should be repeated here that occupational movement between generations is limited in extent. Most of the sons of manual or blue-collar workers only move up or down one step. "Moves from the bottom of the scale to the top or the reverse are quite rare" (Mayer, 1970).

Figure 1 schematically summarizes our narrative account of stratification and mobility.

Group and Class Mobility

In the previous discussion, the different types of individual mobility have been introduced. There remain three other types of mobility that involve a collectivity of mobile persons: the movement of whole groups, the movement of categories of occupations, and the movement of entire classes. Group and class mobility occur over a longer period of time than individual mobility.[7]

Group Mobility

Good examples of group mobility are the Jewish immigrant and the post-war farmer. As a group, Jewish immigrants in America have managed to elevate their social status considerably. Many of them, originally poor, have moved over several generations from semi-skilled workers to managers, proprietors, lawyers, physicians, congressmen and the like (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965). After World War II triggered the large urban migration, the undeveloped farmland on the periphery of city after city became extremely valuable for a variety of urgently needed urban uses. Many farmers lost out, to be sure, to more enterprising land developers, but many also saw in these changes an opportunity to become quite wealthy and parlayed their farmland into profitable real estate ventures.

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[7]Schumpeter (1951) describes group and class mobility in his essay on social classes.

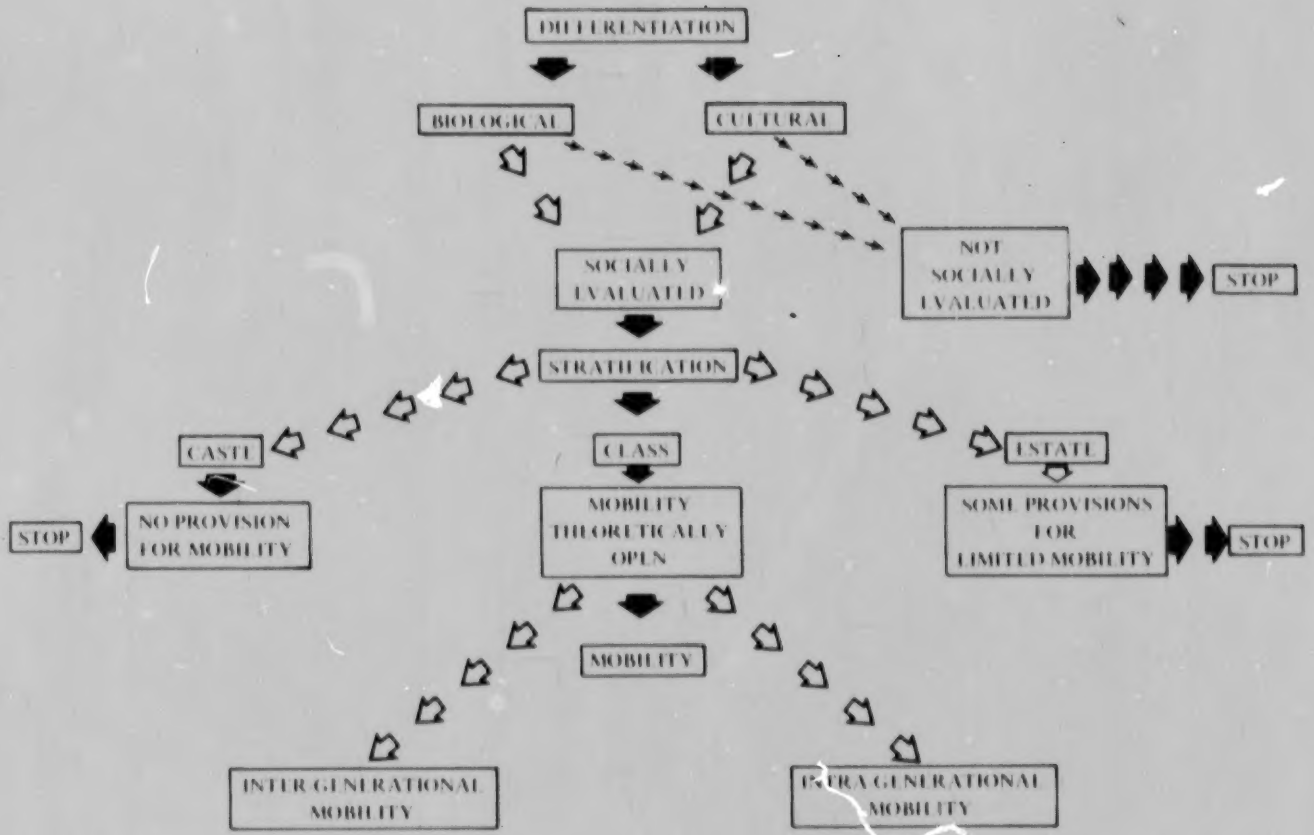

Figure 1. Schematic Diagram of Stratification and Mobility

Occupational Categorical Mobility

Another form of group mobility involves what may be termed occupational categorical mobility, (a term suggested by A. P. Garbin), which refers to the improvement or devolution in social status of an entire occupation (see Coates and Pellegrin, 1965). The midwife is a case in point. Once midwifery was highly valued, only to find its status diminished with the advent and widespread availability of medical practitioners during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. But, we are told the pendulum is swinging back again. Medical doctors are in short supply, and hospital workloads are increasing. As a consequence, midwifery among nurses is on the threshold of becoming an accepted practice once again.

The ministry and military service provide two other instances of occupations which have fluctuated in the occupational structure. Each has experienced periods of ascendency and decline historically (Coates and Pellegrin, 1965).

Class Mobility

The movement of entire classes involves even more dramatic changes. Classes which have aspirations toward upward mobility must do more than demonstrate their worth to those in authority and power. They must become powerful enough to win their mobility. This fact is illustrated in cases where mobility results from a single historic episode, as, for example, when the bourgeoisie replaced the aristocracy as the ruling class in France following the French Revolution. When such an upheaval occurs, both the ruling and the lower classes are affected, but the ruling classes are perhaps the recipients of the most profound changes. After all, it is they who lose power, wealth, and social status at the hands of the new rulers. The lower classes may be less affected; few will become rich and powerful. The majority will continue as poor as they were in the beginning (Schumpeter, 1951).

The development of labor unionism as a strategy for making economic gains is yet another example of the changing distribution of income and political power of an entire social class. This point is amplified later when a fuller discussion of labor unionism is taken up.

Conclusion

Two questions are paramount in the analysis of occupational mobility: (1) What are the psychological dimensions of occupational mobility, and (2) What are the structural conditions within which the psychological dimensions must operate? The first question addresses

itself to considerations internal to the individual. Does he want to succeed? How much talent does he have or has he developed? What does he expect from his job, from his life? Does he want responsibility? Is he interested in promotion?

The second question concerns matters external to the person. Are there enough jobs to go around? Has prejudice and discrimination precluded the development of the talent of large groups of minority peoples? Has technological change made some workers obsolete? Does age operate against the worker, either because he is involuntarily too young or too old?

Both internal and external factors associated with mobility are inextricably tied to the basic, dominant values in society. Without an appreciation of the American value system, it is hardly possible to scratch even the surface of understanding the quest for, and consequences of, occupational mobility.

II. VALUES AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: WHY DO WE WANT MOBILITY?

Introduction

In any society, rules exist by which its members regulate their personal behavior and their interaction with others. These rules, more or less, specify behavioral expectations and the consequences of conformity and non-conformity. They essentially guide people in achieving their goals and in developing, reinforcing, and reinterpreting their values.

Though difficult to define precisely, a value usually is referred to as an overt choice or preference. Values are the basis of sentiment and attitudes responsible for guiding conduct. Not everyone holds identical values, but enough of the most important values are shared so as to enable society to "hang together." To say values hang together is a simple recognition of the fact that they are organized in sets and subsets, thus giving rise to dominant, identifiable patterns (Williams, 1970).

The acceptance or rejection of values requires a private choice, but the choice always and necessarily takes place within some larger cultural framework. The cultural background of societal-wide values has generally been neglected by social scientists, perhaps because values are so difficult to "get at" empirically. We see their effects and can study their consequences most readily in retrospect. But we do know enough about American life styles to agree with Williams (1970) who considers the dominant values in American culture to be: (1) achievement and success, (2) activity and work, (3) moral orientation, (4) humanitarian mores, (5) efficiency and practicality, (6) progress, (7) material comfort, (8) equality, (9) freedom, (10) external conformity, (11) science and secular rationality, (12) nationalism-patriotism, (13) democracy, (14) individual personality, (15) racism and related group-superiority themes. These values constitute a system. They do not function separately, but are affected by and affect each other in varying degrees. It is also important to note that values are developed by man as products of his interaction. Once established, however, values react back upon man and guide his behavior.

Dominant Values in American Society

American culture can, in a large part, be characterized by its system of values, shared beliefs about the importance or morality of something (Kahl, 1965). When individuals follow the same set of values, they have the same value orientation. In developing the concept

of the "lower-class value stretch," Rodman (1963) provides an example of group value orientation. He contends that the deprived circumstances of the lower classes prevent them from achieving success obtainable by middle-class members. To compensate, they stretch their value system so that even though they achieve less success, they nevertheless retain enough so that they are able to define themselves as successful. These individuals develop tolerance for deviations from middle-class values, thus circumventing the frustration that would enuse were they to be constantly thwarted in their attempts to operate within the relatively narrow framework of middle-class values. For example, the values of marriage and legitimate children are stretched to include the acceptance of nonlegal or common-law marriages and illegitimate childbirth. Likewise, the legitimacy of monetary success is broadened to include the acceptance of financial gain through extra-legal activities. The pimp commands respect from segments of the "red light" district while in suburbia he is the object of repulsion.

Achievement and Success

Probably the most important characteristic of American society is its strong, unwavering emphasis on individual achievement and success, which, in turn, is generally equated with occupational achievement (Warner, 1960). Income from employment is viewed as symbolic evidence of success and, thus, as further indication of individual merit.

Typically, parents provide achievement training for children and, hence, develop their motivation for achievement (Scanzoni, 1967; Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959). Parents of middle-class children place greater emphasis on achievement motivation than do parents of lower-class children. Comparatively speaking, middle-class parents also lay greater stress on higher education; however, lower-class parents who want their children to be upwardly mobile are also insistent on a college education for their children (Kahl, 1965). It should be noted that those parents who have positive relationships with their children are more likely to transmit values successfully than parents with more negative parent-child relations (Furstenberg, 1971).

Activity and Work

White middle-class Americans feel a constant need to be busy. This attitude reflects in part the Protestant Work Ethic developed during the era of Calvinism in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Weber, 1958). It is also associated with the necessities of pioneering in the early growing stages of the American frontier (Williams, 1970). Calvin combined a philosophy of work with his concept of the requirements for eternal salvation. The thread of this ethic which runs through the several Protestant denominations is basically this:

man must avoid worldly temptations. He should direct his activities toward the glorification of God and the quest for salvation. To do so he should be constantly occupied in some form of work, avoiding idleness and frivolities. By doing this a man could prove himself to God, and be assured of final salvation (Weber, 1958). This religious concept was carried to America by its early colonizers, where it was reinforced by the pragmatic work ethic of early American pioneers.

In the evolving American society, these two influences, plus the desire for mastery and control over the country's vast resources, gave rise to our occupational values. As the business communities emerged, this work ethic was incorporated into and served as a major focal point for our economic ideology. "Hard work" became the means for individual and civic improvement or progress. It became every man's avenue to a successful career. As such, hard work, progress and salvation became the American Dream itself. In fact, the value of work is so indelibly ingrained into the American way of life that most Americans would work even if they were financially able to quit (Morse and Weiss, 1955).

Aside from its religious and economic functions, work operates as an essential factor in the formation, maintenance, and subsequent development of our self-concept. Morse and Weiss (1955) provide information on this point in their study of 401 males randomly selected throughout the United States. They found workers reported both positive and negative reasons why they want to work. The workers said employment provided:

1) enjoyment of the work itself,

2) pleasure of associating with co-workers,

3) a means of keeping occupied,

4) justification for their existence,

5) a feeling of self-respect, and

6) health.

Without employment, workers claimed they would:

1) feel lost,

2) go crazy,

3) become bored,

4) be useless,

5) have too much time on their hands, and

6) get into trouble.

To the extent that individuals attribute benefits to employment, work necessarily affects the way they define themselves as human beings. But self-conceptions are never the exclusive product of personal evaluations made in the absence of social influences. Self definitions are the products of social clues affecting the individual through interaction. Because of this circumstance, occupational status derived from the prestige assigned by others to work becomes a significant "determinant" of community standing. Social reputation is inextricably associated with employment; consequently, work "fixes" our social status, which in turn affects our self conception.

Because employment is central to self-conception and social reputation, Kluckhohn (1969) can easily claim work has become, for many people, a value in itself.

The values attached to work, like nearly every other area of institutionalized life in America, are undergoing change. While many believe in some version of the work ethic just described, many others have rejected, or are in the process of rejecting, work as a meaningful experience (Nicholson, et al., 1973; O'Toole, et al., 1972).

Commenting on this change in attitudes toward employment and the subsequent occupational disaffection associated with it, a special task force of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare observes:

> Although social scientists have long disputed the precise contribution of the Protestant ethic to the genesis of capitalism, they generally agree that thrift, hard work, and a capacity for deferring gratification historically were traits widely distributed among Americans. Moreover, as part of the legitimacy of the economic system, individual members of our society were to be credited or blamed for their own circumstances, according to the degree of their prosperity.
>
> But the ethic, or what has passed for it, appears to be under attack. Some futurists tell us that automation will make work unnecessary for most people, and that we may as well ignore work and look to other matters, such as "creative leisure." More immediately, our attention is drawn to these alleged signs of work's obsolescence:

- The growth in the number of communes.
- Numerous adolescents panhandling in such meccas as Georgetown, North Beach, and the Sunset Strip.
- Various enterprises shifting to 4-day workweeks.
- Welfare caseloads increasing.
- Retirement occurring at ever earlier ages.

All of these are relatively benign signs; more malignant signs are found in reduced productivity and in the doubling of man-days per year lost from work through strikes. In some industries there apparently is a rise in absenteeism, sabotage, and turnover rates (O'Toole, et al., 1972).

It is not just a matter of rejecting occupational values alone, however, because success, as it has been traditionally defined, is also under attact by those who find themselves alienated from work.

Moral Orientation

The emphasis on religion in America can be traced to the Judeo-Christian ethic of the early settlers. The Puritans placed great stress on morality (Williams, 1970). To be assured of salvation, every facet of life was to be guided by moral principles. Right and wrong became an ever present concern (Weber, 1958).

This influence retains a precarious vitality among contemporary Americans as they profess to live by a morally and ethically informed system of values. The claim is frequently made that moral principles in business and private life fundamentally parallel religious and ethical considerations.

Humanitarian Mores

A special emphasis exists in the American culture on a humanitarian philosophy which demonstrates a sympathetic concern for those who are classified as the "underdogs" and for those who have experienced severe disasters. This is evidenced by the many philanthropic activities undertaken to provide funds for various charitable enterprises; by the quick and widespread support for those who have undergone losses through disasters such as hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes; by the large charitable organizations such as the United Fund; and by the establishment of public welfare institutions.

Although it is relatively easy to document a conscientious concern as proof for humanitarian mores, arguments of a contradictory nature can also be provided with little difficulty. Americans are noted for their "expulsion and extermination of the Indians, slavery, the sweatshop pattern in industry, and a long catalog of child labor, lynching, vigilantes, and social callousness in many forms" (Williams, 1970). The contrast between our humanitarian mores and the practical opposition to them is apparent in the manner in which American "justice and moral responsibility" limit philanthropic endeavors. Williams (1970) exemplifies this in his description of the 1961 legislation "that limited federal contributions for families with dependent children in which the father is absent." As a consequence, children were discriminated against because of the nature of their parents' relationships.

Efficiency and Practicality

Practicality is one of the most easily observable American characteristics. Americans demonstrate their practical orientations through their suspicion of theory and by their high regard for problem solving. This attitude is readily reflected by the American folk hero who is always a doer rather than a thinker (Laski, 1949).

From the early frontier days, Americans have displayed a desire to subdue and control their land and resources. This attitude, coupled with the work ethic, has prompted men to develop greater speed and ease in every phase of business and industry. The strongest emphasis has been placed on technical efficiency and its ensuing economic rewards. Admiration and respect for the efficacy of scientific explanations and their subsequent technological applications is another example of the American orientation toward efficiency (Williams, 1970).

Progress

Progress has always been a national concern. Early and contemporary art and literature portray the American as working hard to free himself eventually from that very toil in order to enjoy the fruits of his labors, while at the same time advancing his control over the environment.

Part of the concept of progress is seen in the American religious experience. The religion of the pioneer nurtured and sustained him throughout his trials and provided him with a greater transcendental purpose, for Americans were somehow chosen to develop their nation under new principles of "freedom, individualism, democracy, and success" (Laski, 1949). In concert, these principles represent progress, so the story goes.

Material Comfort

Since the 1920's when a new material abundance became a practical reality for more than just an elite few, Americans have demanded an ever higher standard of material comfort. It is not surprising that self-gratification has become an important factor in the American life-style. As a nation, we have developed so many means and methods for achieving personal satisfaction that the industries supporting consumerism form a major portion of American business (Williams, 1970).

Equality

The nature of American equality must be approached with some trepidation, because inequality is more conspicuous than equality. Both principles have had a profound effect on American culture. The concept of individual equality in "liberties, rights and responsibilities" was instituted in the Declaration of Independence and has been a guiding principle in American life since then (Savelle, 1957). Yet, men were simultaneously developing pro-slavery arguments based on the idea that the use of slaves could help in the social and economic equalization of white men. Jefferson Davis, himself, argued that the use of slavery "raises white men to the same general level, that it dignifies and exalts every white man by the presence of a lower race" (Jenkins, 1959).

These values conflict with one another, especially today. There are two particular kinds of inequalities currently manifest in American culture. "First, the denial of nominally universal rights of citizenship and violations of nominally universal rules of impersonal justice; second, the denial of opportunities for achievement in the formally open competitive order" (Williams, 1970). Minority groups have been and currently are demanding this be changed, and that civil rights and economic opportunities be given in their due proportions.

Freedom

Rooted in our national historical experience, the American concept of freedom is based on the belief that an individual has certain capabilities which enable him to control his own environment. Men were forced to develop their skills in order to survive during the early years of the nation's development. It was heightened by the distaste for governmental control originally imposed on the colonies by foreign governments. The development of the individual man and the growing distrust of the government created in the American citizen an aversion to governmental authority and visible social organization (Williams, 1970; Critoph, 1964).

A far-reaching consequence of this aversion to authority is the widespread belief in personal worth and self-confidence. Personal relations between Americans suggest the acceptance of personality differences, allowance of disagreements and the demand for individual rights. Therefore, the concept of freedom is not simply integrated into the American cultural system, it is a fundamental part of the concept of citizenship.

External Conformity

Though Americans pride themselves on their individual rights and freedoms, it is evident that in their outward appearance and behavior they comply with a multifarious array of group standards of dress and conduct. Laski (1949) points out that Americans are uncomfortable around an individual "who does not conform to the central habits of the American spirit."

Another reason for the American need for outward conformity is the common desire for approval from others, which may be easily accomplished if one follows external group standards of conformity. Therefore, we observe individuals of the same social strata reading the same or similar books, listening to the same or similar music, watching the same or similar television programs, following the same or similar childrearing practices, and appreciating the same or similar sports activities (Lynes, 1954).

Science and Secular Rationality

Americans also pride themselves on their ability to order and control their environment through scientific achievement. It is assumed that rational people can exert their ideas and energies through a scientific approach to regulate logically and efficiently both themselves and the circumstances under which they live (Weber, 1958; Williams, 1970). Although the scientist is generally thought to be a neutral tool through which discoveries are made, it is becoming increasingly clear that value-judgments cannot be divorced from science or the decisions of the scientist (Jensen, 1971). For example, the type of research problems chosen for study and the methods selected may be unconsciously influenced by the "hidden" value-set of the scientist, or his funding agency.

Nationalism-Patriotism

American nationalism exists in at least three varieties. For some, nationalism is a blind ideological commitment. It is akin to religion, complete with an image of America as a strong and righteous society permeated with signs and symbols of patriotic involvement (Bertrand, 1967).

For others, nationalism implies a less idealistic form of allegiance. It allows for a cautiously critical view of portions of society. This type of nationalism requires loyalty to America and its institutions only insofar as they are properly fulfilling their functions. Dissent is preciously guarded as an inalienable right when "society fails."

There is a third attitude toward nationalism which developed as a reaction to the Vietnamese conflict. Its essential characteristic is a movement away from unquestioned patriotic loyalty to adherence to an "individual conscience" (Williams, 1970).

Democracy

The American concept of democracy is reflected in the insistence on personal and political rights. Every individual should be an active, participating citizen who contributes to the successful political operation of his government (Lipset, 1963). Only by exercising individual rights through majority rule is it felt that the democratic creed will be preserved.

Individual Personality

The cult of the individual in Western society is not unknown. Individual personality is so strong a value in the American tradition that it permeates every phase of the culture. Laws have been written to protect individual rights, educational methods have been developed to allow for individual achievement (Barzun, 1954; Kozol, 1967; Gross and Osterman, 1971), and recent popular theories on childrearing emphasize the dignity of the individual (Ginott, 1965).

Racism and Group Superiority Themes

It is blatantly contradictory for a society which stresses individual rights, equality, freedom, and similar values to have also developed racist beliefs. These beliefs are based largely on the "assumptions of biological superiority" (Williams, 1970; Myrdal, 1944). It should be obvious that any change in the conflict between these opposite values can only come about through the total breakdown in the belief in racial superiority and the subsequent recognition of merit and achievement based on individual worth.

Connecting Values to Mobility

Each of these values is at least of some importance for occupational mobility. In some instances, adherence to one value has one set of consequences for mobility, while subscription to another value produces quite contradictory effects. In other cases, where values are in unison, their combinations reinforce each other.

Achievement motivation has a particular influence on mobility. It gives the individual the determination to succeed and the incentive to work hard (Rosen, 1959), or a feeling of guilt when he does not; however, class differences exist with regard to achievement motivation. While the middle class, by and large, seeks upward mobility because of a basic need for achievement, for the most part, the lower class demonstrates notably less emphasis on achievement or "high success goals." In the case of the lower class, Hyman (1966) maintains this naturally results from their realistic recognition of the difficulty and "lack of opportunity to achieve success." In short, "the lower-class individual doesn't want as much success, knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to, and doesn't want what might help him get success."

Activity and work as values in themselves have much the same impact on occupational mobility as does the achievement value. Many people feel they ought to excel in their work, thus giving them the incentive to work diligently and to expect as a consequence to be upwardly mobile (Kluckhohn, 1969). This work ethic has its shortcomings, too, as with the lower-class attitudes toward achievement, where the connection between work and mobility is more difficult to perceive. If the link between employment and success is tenuous, as it apparently is among the poor, then occupational zeal tends to wane (Hyman, 1966).

The moral orientation peculiar to Americans creates ethical conflicts in the American culture of work. Americans assume they operate under the veil of conformity to Christian ideals of honesty and fair treatment of others. They like to believe business, industry, and government are guided by certain moral and ethical rules and regulations. Efficiency, practicality and, above all, monetary success are the most highly valued business ethics; these tend to obscure the commitment to ethical standards, with the result that some writers claim American business is "corrupt" (Mills, 1957; Finkelstein, 1958; Blumhart, 1962).

There is a complex relationship among the values of humanitarianism, equality, and racism and mobility in work. A humanitarian philosophy and equalitarian ideals combine to create an atmosphere of concern for the individual, particularly those in unfortunate circumstances. Accordingly, attempts are made to equalize educational experiences through programs such as Head Start, forced racial desegregation of students and teachers, and welfare agencies which, in theory if not in practice, endeavor to promote circumstances among

the poor that will eventually lead to occupational success. However, the widespread belief in, and practice of, racial superiority creates a cross-current of conflicting behavior, particularly in the opposition to forced desegregation and disdain for welfare payments.

The values of individual personality and external conformity operate disjunctively in relation to occupational mobility. Belief in the autonomy of the individual presumably provides the ideological means for allowing free individual mobility (Warner, 1962); thus, whether a man succeeds or fails, depends essentially on his own merit. But one of the principal ways of ensuring upward movement is to conform to pre-existing cultural standards of dress, protocol, demeanor and the like. In other words, conformity to organizational mores increases the likelihood of occupational success while it concommitantly usurps personal autonomy. The successful organization man must think, act, and dress properly. He must nurture and demonstrate an easy, cooperative posture within his company, especially with his superiors. Controversy about himself as a person must be avoided at all costs (Presthus, 1962).

Progress, science, and material comfort act singularly and in unison to promote the desire for mobility. Progress through science has resulted in a spectacular increase in material goods. Americans have earned a wide-ranging reputation as the most consumer-oriented society in the contemporary world. Their desires for more and better goods explain in great part their quest for higher incomes.

The acquisition of certain consumer items symbolizes occupational status and success, while the absence of those items is indicative of occupational failure. The apartment or house and neighborhood in which we live, the make, model and year of our car, the quality and cut of our clothing and our leisure pursuits are tell-tale signs of our success or failure in the world of work (Galbraith, 1958; Hamilton, 1962).

Freedom, democracy, and patriotism do not have as obvious a bearing on occupational mobility as do the other values. However, freedom and democracy definitely play critical roles in providing a cultural setting which facilitates the search for mobility. Individuals who enthusiastically exercise their democratic rights and who actively participate as citizens also tend to be active "carriers" of the traditional work ethic. Persons whose jobs cause them to feel oppressed and bored may be doubly frustrated because it is through democratic values that they have been conditioned in the first place to expect some control over their lives.

Individual freedom has a somewhat more direct bearing on mobility. Even though individual freedom is allowed in making occupational choices, these choices are actually circumscribed by several limiting factors (Loftquist and Davis, 1969). The American Dream requires that only legitimate, rather than illegitimate, occupational endeavors be pursued.

But the unqualified pursuit of legitimate occupations may be, and in fact frequently is, effectively thwarted by the disadvantages of povefty, class, family, race, ethnicity, education and religion (Rosen, 1964). The professions of law and medicine, for example, are surely inaccessable to all but comparatively few of the disadvantaged. Yet law and medicine are relatively open to those with more affluent backgrounds.

Racism and equality offer dramatically contrasting perspectives on occupational mobility. Theoretically, an individual is supposed to be able to succeed on the strength of personal qualifications. In practice, however, it works only imperfectly for educated whites, less well for blacks, and most imperfectly for Mexican-Americans and Indians. Harrington (1962) argues that automation is primarily responsible for black unemployment. When jobs are permanently eliminated, the black is the first to be laid off. Then because they are "one of the least skilled groups in the labor force, they will have the hardest time getting another job. The 'older' Negro (over forty) may well be condemned to job instability for the rest of his life."

For the educated black, discrimination seems to be most oppressing. Blau and Duncan (1967) found that "education does not produce the same career advantages for Negroes as for whites." Occupational status for blacks is half that for whites. Their career opportunities are even less than those of poorly educated blacks. (See Chapter IV for additional treatment of this theme.)

A Typology for Accepting or Rejecting Values

Personal adaptation to social values varies widely, but certain discernable types of adaptations prevail. The classical typology of five modes of adaptations was developed by Merton (1957). Each deals with the relationship between the goals specified by the culture and the acceptable means for achieving those goals.

Modes of Adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	−
III. Ritualism	−	+
IV. Retreatism	−	−
V. Rebellion	±	±

Figure 2. A Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation (Merton, 1957:140)

Note: (+) signifies "acceptance," (−) signifies "rejection," and (±) signifies "rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values."

Conformity

In every society, particularly relatively stable ones, conformity is ubiquitous. Cultural goals are transmitted through the socialization process and internalized by the individual in such a manner that he wants to achieve what is culturally desirable, using the means prescribed by custom and law. Consequently, enough social equilibrium is maintained to sustain the day-to-day expectations of people in constant or intermittent communication.

Innovation

However, the goals and means of society are never so well defined and universally accepted that everyone always unflinchingly subscribes to them. Furthermore, the socialization process is never complete. As a consequence, there are always some who embrace the cultural goals, but renounce the legitimate means for attaining them. Maybe they have been prejudicially denied access to legitimate means, or perhaps they do not possess the needed talent. Whatever the reasons, the innovator is a risk taker who invents new ways of achieving desired cultural goals. These new ways usually are considered initially to be morally, if not legally, unacceptable. Organized crime represents one example of an institutionalized mode of acquiring wealth and power through illegal means.

Ritualism

Ritualism occurs when the person loses sight of the prevailing cultural goals while maintaining the behavior commonly manifested in the process of achieving those same goals. The individual rejects the goals but accepts the means. The means become ends-in-themselves instead of vehicles by which something else is accomplished. It is likely innovation is common among high aspirants of the lower classes because of the frustrations they have encountered in attempting to achieve lofty cultural goals. Ritualism probably is more characteristic of the lower-middle class because of its stress on respectability. Following the rules is the key to respectability for members of the lower-middle class.

Retreatism

Retreatism involves the rejection of both goals and means; it is the least common of the adaptations. Retreatism implies the individual has essentially dropped out of society and is harboring attitudes of defeatism and resignation. It usually occurs when, though both acceptable means and goals have been assimilated, the individual cannot use those means to

reach his goals, yet will not resort to unacceptable but available ones. As a consequence, he abandons both.

Rebellion

Rebellion is characteristic of persons experiencing vast social changes of a revolutionary nature. Both the goals and the means are rejected while an attempt is concurrently made to substitute different ones. The rebel is not content to quit, to drop out; he wants to create a new society based on the principles and standards to which he subscribes.

Values, Work and Mobility

As already noted, the acceptance or rejection of values is always personal; a private decision to endorse, ignore, or rebuke cultural standards of thought and conduct. In addition, that decision is circumscribed by what is happening in the community as well as the total society. Demographic, technological, religious, political, racial, sexual, and familial considerations are among the more important *structural* factors external to the individual having a bearing on which values (including occupational and mobility values) he embraces, which he disregards, and which he rejects. Chapter III is concerned with the relationship between these structural factors and work and mobility.

III. THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND MOBILITY

How Much Mobility Is There?

The argument over whether or not there is more or less mobility than previously has been a long and indecisive one. Three well known studies have reached three opposing conclusions: Hertzler says mobility is decreasing; Sjoberg concludes mobility is increasing; Chinoy is undecided.

Less Mobility

Prior to the Depression and World War II, occupational mobility was generally assumed to be easily accomplished by anyone dedicated to success and willing to work hard. However, in the 1950's, several articles in professional journals questioned the validity of the American Dream and consequently the openness of the mobility structure in the United States.

Hertzler (1952) argued that America's system of mobility was closing, offering less opportunities for upward movement than had previously existed. He offered seven reasons for that tendency.

First, the class status of one's family effectively opens or closes certain avenues of opportunity, regardless of native intelligence or ability. Those born into a higher class usually have the advantages of some wealth, and at least adequate education, prestige and social position. The individual born into a lower-class family tends to have lower quality education, limited social relationships, and fewer economic advantages.

Secondly, nationality may be a factor, especially in cases where prejudices affect the job opportunities of certain groups such as Jews, Mexican-Americans, and blacks.

Third, changes in immigration regulations have raised the standards of acceptance of immigrants. Today, fewer unskilled workers are allowed entrance. Previously, waves of minorities entering at the bottom of the social ladder served to push others upward. More highly trained and educated immigrants coming in skipped over the lower groups and moved into higher positions. Less room, then, currently is available for those at the bottom to move

up. Consider the German rocket specialists who, after World War II, immigrated to the United States and occupied prestigious jobs in aerospace research in the early rocket programs.

Fourth, fertility changes have increased the number of babies born into the higher classes. (Note: This argument was made by Hertzler in the early 1950's, when demographic trends supported this assertion.) Before, with greater numbers of children born in poor families, and because of the number of job openings and the lower rate of upper class births, many children of the poor were pushed upward. However, as upper-class births increased, fewer jobs were available for lower-class members. Therefore, individuals who might previously have been forced upward then had to face greater competition, especially from those in classes above them.

Fifth, it has become increasingly difficult to rise from a very low social and occupational level to a higher one. The complexity of technology, the cost of starting a business, and the difficulty of achieving an adequate education combine to hamper many who would like to "make it to the top." Along with these problems is the tendency of many upper-middle and upper class parents to train their children to fill their positions, thus further limiting available opportunities. Furthermore, the labor unions can both provide and limit job opportunities for their members. Since many companies limit their employees to include only union members, large numbers of workers are effectively controlled by union rules, where seniority is the primary basis for promotion and opportunity. If one leaves the union, his chances for another job are decreased. As such, union membership may fix the economic condition of the worker.

Sixth, the educational channel to mobility is less open than one might believe. Although education constitutes a means to success, it also limits opportunities because of class differences. More children belonging to the upper and upper-middle classes reach and complete college while more lower-class children never even attend or drop out before they complete high school. Factors responsible for this include the high cost of educating a child, favoritism of educators for middle- and upper-middle class children, and rejection of lower-class children by their classmates.

Seventh, there are some suggestions that the rationale for the belief in the American Dream is changing. Many people are uncomfortable in a highly mobile society and seek security and stability in their jobs. Therefore, they want, though they may not enjoy, civil service or military careers. Also, there is some indication that many middle-class workers (i.e., sales, clerical and kindred workers) are desirous of more job security, and are favorably responsive to unionization. There has been, then, a change in middle-class attitudes; a movement away from management partiality and toward security fostered by unionization. Lastly, there is less belief in the limitless opportunity structure that once was considered to characterize the American economy.

More Mobility

The opposite, contradictory argument concentrates on the forces which have increased opportunities for upward mobility. In an essay, Sjoberg (1951) argues that technological mobility has weakened the barriers between social classes. He points to the rising income of the lower classes that results from increased industrialization. More money permits a more desirable life-style, including changes in dress and speech patterns. The extreme differences in appearance that once existed between each stratum have diminished as a result of industrialization. Not only is clothing more available to the average man because of technical advances in garment production, but larger salaries have made possible the purchase of that clothing. Speech patterns have changed primarily because of exposure of the lower class to the middle-class vernacular of the media, and the acceptance of less formal speech patterns by the upper classes. Etiquette books have come into wide usage as the awkward upwardly mobile individual attempts to learn the social rules of the class into which he is moving. And, finally, more people are getting a formal education than ever before. This is both a result of the desire for upward mobility and the effects of increased income. Those who have benefitted from advancing technology instill this desire in their children and seek to provide them with the means (education) for achieving it.

Other authors join Sjoberg in claiming there has been an increase in the rate of upward mobility in recent years. Three reasons are given for this increase: technological and organizational advances due to modern industrialization, the introduction and availability of effective contraceptives, and the rise of the mass media.

There is general agreement that technical advances accompanied by economic expansion, which, in turn, enlarges the job market, combine to increase the incidence of upward occupational mobility (Rogoff, 1953; Mayer, 1970; Kahl, 1965; Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Broom and Jones, 1969). Industrialization has brought about changes in the job structure by reducing the number of unskilled jobs through automation and increasing the number of administrative and skilled jobs. The individual is more likely to find that these jobs are attributed higher status and thus are more desirable in terms of working conditions and pay.

Modern contraceptive practices are greatly responsible for the increase in women in the work force. Women can control both the number and spacing of their children with the result that families now are smaller and children may be conceived at more opportune times (Perrucci, 1967). Thus a family can delay or limit the number of children according to their economic capabilities. In doing this they can at least partially regulate their own life-style and status which they typically attempt to upgrade.

The mass media have portrayed certain phases of American life as being desirable. Consumable items are wanted to satisfy basic and artificial needs and to reinforce individual

prestige and status. The media has helped spread the desires for these objects and, in doing so, has created the need for larger incomes (Hamilton, 1962).

More or Less Mobility

In a related historical analysis of social mobility, Chinoy (1955) studied the effects of several cultural changes associated with mobility. First, the closing of the American frontier was supposed to have slowed down the flow of migrants from East to West and thus retarded mobility. According to his research, Chinoy feels that from the mid 1800's to World War II there was no great movement West. He concludes that the frontier closing could not have increased mobility.

Secondly, it has been proposed that the decrease in immigration since World War I has strongly affected occupational mobility. As unskilled laborers, immigrants had always filled the lowest jobs and pushed up those who were the older immigrants. Chinoy argues that the lowered rate of immigration did not affect mobility because the rapid expansion of the economy before 1920 easily absorbed most of the immigrants, while the decline in immigration since then has been offset by the lack of jobs resulting from the Depression. Additionally, he states that economic growth may not really increase mobility, for, in our expanding economy, many are still unemployed.

Third, even though many large corporations have developed, the degree or amount of mobility may not have changed. Yet, the kind and frequency of mobility has, nevertheless, been affected by the character of "big business." Many people still go into business on their own, but the types of business they enter have changed. Small entrepreneurs no longer have unlimited prospects of developing their establishments into large successful firms which increasingly are limited to the fields of distribution and service rather than production. In the large companies, upward mobility usually occurs among white-collar workers. There is little movement upward from the manual category into management. However, Chinoy does state that big business, big government and related industries have led to changes in the occupational structure; white-collar workers have increased from 21 percent of the total labor force in 1910 to 38 percent in 1950, while farm workers decreased from 31 to 12 percent. Industrialization and mechanization have resulted in shifts among blue-collar employees as well; unskilled workers declined from 15 to 10 percent and semiskilled workers rose from 15 to 20 percent of the total (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1943b; 1953).

Fourth, for years mobility was also affected by the lower birth rate of the upper classes. However, since their birth rate has increased and that of the lower class has decreased, there are less jobs open to lower-class individuals.

Fifth, migration to the cities by farm workers has contributed to the upward mobility statistics. This seems to be offset by the decrease in movement up the occupational ladder by those who remain farmers.

From his analysis, Chinoy concludes that even though some changes have occurred, he still cannot say that mobility has increased or decreased.

The Structural Background of Opportunity

Although they disagree, Hertzler, Sjoberg and Chinoy are analyzing mobility from a common perspective. Each focuses on structural rather than personal factors in attempting to explain what is happening to opportunity in America. Such considerations as immigration, fertility rates, automation, economic growth, bureaucracy, and seniority are discussed in their writings. These are institutional conditions and trends which originate, to be sure, with millions of individual decisions in the first place, but over which the individual has little or no control. These factors are, as it were, lodged in the very structure of society.

Other structural factors important to the analysis of mobility are kinship, sex, age, race, social class itself, father's occupation and religion. These essentially socio-cultural considerations have received widespread attention in the literature on mobility.

Socio-Cultural Factors

Family. Aside from determining one's race, age, sex and social status, a person's family provides other advantages (or disadvantages) in the search for upward job mobility. However, according to Rehburg (1967), studies of this relationship, need to be made more precise. He feels that terms such as hopes, expectations and opportunities need greater accuracy and more definitive study.

It is apparent that the values and expectations learned in the family do have some effect on achievement or desire for achievement. In a study of parent-child relations and low achievement boys, McClelland (1961) concluded that the need to achieve is developed by the parents through "reasonably high standards of excellence imposed at a time when the son can attain them, a willingness to let him attain them without interference, and real emotional pleasure in his achievements short of overprotection and indulgence." This achievement, he argues, is manifest in occupational success.

Joseph Kahl (1965) reports from a review of field studies that achievement orientation is related to activism (mastery), independence of family (trust), and occupational primacy (accomplishment).

Scanzoni (1967), in a comparison of both Kahl's and McClelland's findings, agrees with Kahl that an individual's goals are largely the result of parental influence, but this influence may be conveyed through indirect ways such as discipline, nurture, authority, companionship and demands. He further agrees with Kahl that achievement may be expressed in ways other than occupational success, as for example artistically.

In a study of the transmission of goals from lower-class parents to their children, different conclusions were reached. It was found that children spending more time with their parents are more likely to share their parents' goals—but not to a great degree. Goal sharing was affected by the degree of conflict in the relationship. Greater goal sharing was accompanied by less conflict and more conflict accompanied less goal sharing, but this was complicated by the children's ability to understand their parents' ambitions (Furstenberg, 1971). One consequence of this seldom recognized fact is that an adverse relationship between a lower-class parent and his child may positively affect the child's chances of upward mobility.

In two similar studies of successful career women and men, poor family relations were commonly found. Ellis (1952) studied unmarried career women and found more mobile than non-mobile career women ". . . had experienced both rejection by parents and by the overall community during childhood." Further, "the mobile women continued to be more socially isolated than the non-mobile during adulthood."

In a study of male business leaders, Warner and Abegglin (1955) found fathers to be "unreliable" and "distant." The authors suggest the career success of the son might be an attempt to win approval of the father. The mother is seen as the parent from whom the sons learn to strive, and to work hard for future rewards. Another characteristic noted in the sons' personalities was the apparent lack of close ties with others. Many of them seemed incapable of forming meaningful relationships; this suggests an ability or willingness to be available for movement from one job and city to the next.

On the other hand, a favorable family background may contribute to occupational success. The family with a certain level of income and prestige may furnish both superior educational experience for their children and later occupational opportunities that a less advantaged family could not provide. Bendix and Howton (1957) believe a person's family can be instrumental in his career success through this very means. They further acknowledge the large number of business leaders from "good" families, and the smaller number of business leaders from medium or low status families which suggests that the "rags to riches" story is more often fiction than fact.

Sex. It is difficult to make a comparison of mobility rates on the basis of sex for two reasons. First, men and women spend different amounts of time in the labor force. Most men have jobs from the ages of 20-65. In contrast, when many women work, their involvement in the labor force is for intermittent periods. And, second, there is a vast difference in the types of occupations in which each sex is employed, as demonstrated clearly in Table 2 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1971).

Women have been discriminated against in both occupational choice and hiring practices. Men make fewer job changes than women (Parnes, 1954). Women hold more poorly paid white collar jobs than men (Lipset and Bendix, 1959). The median income for women ($3,844.00) is less than half that for men ($8,036.00) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972). Older women are more desirable as employees. For example, many employers prefer to hire a woman who is past the general child bearing years and who wants a career for either personal satisfaction or monetary need. A woman this age does not have the family conflicts that a younger one might have. The older woman is more settled; she will not readily quit to get married or to have children (Smith, 1964).

Several explanations have been given for sex differences in jobs. They are based primarily on the male attitude that women are either incapable of the same work as men, or that their roles as wives and mothers conflict with their working roles.

Most of the women's liberation literature deals with the first reason. Sex discrimination in jobs has been widely condemned by feminist leaders such as Gloria Steinam, Betty Friedan, Germaine Greer, and Kate Millett, and is indeed the major justification for this movement. Bills for equal rights including women have been introduced in state and federal governing bodies and at this writing still have not been passed by all states.

A second and related explanation is expressed in an essay on the social disruption and conflict of working women by Coser and Rokoff (1971). They have developed the notion that female commitment to work differs from that of the male. Female commitment is believed to conflict with other commitments to the family. Social norms indicate that women should have a stronger commitment to the family even at the expense of their careers. Therefore, it is possible that, especially in high status occupations where job commitment must be high, women, particularly young married or single women, will be excluded.

At least one other factor may influence hiring practices for women. Tiffany, et al. (1970) imply that physical attractiveness is important in many women's jobs and is considered along with regular employment qualifications. A woman, then, may not only be discriminated against for her sex, but also according to prevailing beauty standards.

TABLE 2

Employed Persons, by Occupation Group, Color, and Sex, Selected Years, 1959-70

Occupation group	1970				1965				1959			
	White		Negro and other races		White		Negro and other races		White		Negro and other races	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	14.6	15.0	7.8	10.8	12.8	13.9	5.7	8.5	11.2	12.9	3.6	6.1
Farmers and farm managers	3.6	.3	1.7	.1	4.7	.5	2.7	.5	6.8	.6	5.5	.6
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	15.3	4.8	4.7	1.9	14.5	4.9	3.4	1.6	14.6	5.5	2.8	2.0
Clerical and kindred workers	7.1	36.4	7.4	20.8	7.2	34.7	5.7	11.8	11.7	33.1	5.1	7.6
Salesworkers	6.1	7.7	1.8	2.5	6.1	8.3	1.6	2.0	6.3	8.8	1.2	1.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	20.8	1.2	13.8	.8	20.2	1.1	11.1	.7	20.2	1.1	9.5	.5
Operatives and kindred workers	18.7	14.1	28.3	17.6	20.1	15.3	26.4	14.5	19.3	15.6	23.8	14.2
Private household workers	.1	3.4	.3	17.5	.1	4.5	.4	30.1	(1)	5.2	.4	36.1
Service workers except private household	6.0	15.3	12.8	25.6	5.9	14.1	15.1	24.7	5.4	13.4	14.1	21.7
Farm laborers and foremen	1.7	1.5	3.9	1.5	2.1	2.2	6.9	4.8	2.7	3.5	9.0	9.1
Laborers except farm and mine	6.2	.4	17.5	.7	6.3	.4	21.0	.7	6.4	.4	25.1	.8

[1] Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1971: 57.

Furthermore, the wife of a blue-collar worker may have the added obstacle of her husband's opposition when she wants to work or he may make her job harder by imposing greater demands on her at home.

Age. Age seems to have one general, unchanging, singular relationship with mobility—as age increases, mobility decreases (Reynolds, 1951; Kitagowa and others, 1953; Parnes, 1954). In virtually all of the data dealing with this relationship, the findings are the same. U.S. statistics on population movements mirror those results in terms of geographic mobility. That is, the greatest movement both within and between states occurs during the ages of 20 to 24, with a gradual, steady, uninterrupted decrease to age 65 and over (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970).

There have been various reasons suggested for this pattern of movement. First of all, since very young workers are usually employed on a part-time basis while going to school, their mobility rate is bound to be high (Parnes, 1954). Secondly, the high mobility of young workers may be attributable to their "shopping around" for a job that is satisfying and suitable to them. Obviously, the younger person with fewer responsibilities is in a better position to try different jobs than is an older worker. The older worker generally has greater household responsibilities and less chance at his age of finding a better job. Therefore, he is more likely to remain on his job (Reynolds, 1951; Garbin, et al., 1970).

Since frequent movement of younger workers is associated with occupational "exploration" for both those in and out of school, the early years become a time for developing and evaluating job aspirations and attitudes. Students experiment with school courses and career plans, while the young worker may experiment with numerous job changes (Ginzberg, 1951; Super, 1957). At any rate, for several years these youths move from one job to another, crystalizing their own job aspirations and searching for the right job. Hence, a high mobility rate among the young workers results. Super points out during the 25 to 45 age period, most individuals are concerned with establishing their careers. By age 25, many have found the job of their choice and settled down. And those others who want to establish a career will stop moving around a few years later. Consequently, mobility rates decrease after age 25, although some mobility does take place, especially upward mobility. Those who move up may do so within an organization, between organizations, or between cities. Of course, the latter movement can accompany either of the former moves.

Blue-collar workers tend to be less mobile than white-collar workers. Seniority is the key to upward mobility in the blue-collar world, therefore, the worker is less likely to move once he has spent some time on the job. However, the same effect operates in "managerial and professional jobs and in some corporations and government service." Other "anti-mobility" factors that occur with age are family responsibilities, emotional ties, and the equity

built up over the years in retirement. Therefore, as a person ages it may become harder to move from one job to another (Parnes, 1954; Super, 1957).

As previously noted, hiring practices vary with age; as one becomes older it becomes increasingly difficult to find jobs of any kind (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). Many men and women find fewer job openings for them once they reach 40. Both employment agencies and companies with job openings prefer to fill jobs with younger people (Sheppard, 1970). This problem has been so widespread that it elicited the passage of The Age Discrimination Act in 1968 which protects in particular those individuals from age 40 to 65 (Tiffany, et al., 1970).

Race. The occupational disadvantages of race and ethnicity are not unknown in this country (Harrington, 1962; Thompson, 1971). It may be relatively easy or, conversely, quite difficult for the individual who is a member of a minority group to obtain a job. Moreover, occupational attitudes and motivation differ according to the culture of the group into which a person is born and reared. Hence, achievement values vary within and between racial or ethnic groups. There is some justification for the claim that each cultural or racial group has its own special Geist with different emphases placed on education, ambition and achievement. For example, the Jewish, Japanese and Greek subcultures in the United States are strongly oriented toward education and achievement. Therefore, their children have the advantage of being socialized to desire upward mobility. On the other hand, large numbers of Mexican-Americans and blacks are not oriented toward career success or upward mobility because they have not been taught the values and motivation most amenable to upward mobility (Rosen, 1959; Heller, 1969). For these groups, low levels of aspirations may be part of a larger problem that occurs mostly in the lower classes. Since many Mexican-Americans and blacks are of lower-class status, the cycle of impoverishment that entraps so many undoubtedly operates on them. In dealing with Afro-Americans, Rainwater (1966) calls this the "tangle of pathology" while Myrdal, et al. (1944) refers to it as a "vicious circle" or, in a more generic sense, what was referred to earlier as the perpetuation of social class (Mayer and Buckley, 1970).

Essentially these concepts describe the continuance of negative psychological conditions and the resultant values that restrict the individual attitudinally, educationally and occupationally. Therefore, many blacks who live in the ghetto do not seek success, do not remain in school, and have lowered goals. As a result of this and the added burden of racial discrimination, they cannot secure an adequate job or, at times, any job. Their feelings of hopelessness and despair are in turn transferred to their children.

These negative qualities, combined with prejudicial attitudes towards minorities, form the basis for discrimination in the occupational structure. Blacks, in particular, feel the brunt

of this discrimination. Even when education, aspirations and social status are comparatively high, blacks are still discriminated against. They are less upwardly mobile than whites (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Lieberson and Fuguitt, 1967). Other ethnic groups have fared better, mainly because as they developed skills, higher class values, and different speech and dress patterns, their differences became less obvious. Some writers believe skin color is a permanent unremovable stigma in America. Blacks cannot pass into white society as easily as others (Harrington, 1962). Indeed, practically the only way for them to succeed in business is within the black culture. They sell goods or services to other blacks and succeed with them; however, it is difficult for them to attract a white clientele. Blacks are caught in what Wiley (1967) calls a "mobility trap." They move ahead economically in the black sub-community, but can go no further.

There is some evidence that this is changing. According to a special study, *The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1970* (U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1971), some upward mobility is being achieved. More blacks are being employed as professional workers, managers and administrators, and craftsmen and laborers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971).

Indians have the most limited occupational opportunities of any group. Their health, self image, motivation to succeed, and education are low, while despair and alcoholism are high. In fact, education is of little benefit and may be irrelevant and insulting to them and their customs and values (Anderson, 1971). Predictably, unemployment runs from 20 to 80 percent in the reservations. The self-image of the American Indian is extremely low.

Social Class. The effects of the social class into which an individual is born are varied in relation to job mobility. Each stratum has its own subculture—its own value system, goals and attitudes which place varying emphases on each individual's job success. In large measure, an individual's associates affect his attitudes toward occupational success. More precisely, the social class of one's neighbors, friends and relatives, together with his economic and occupational status, combine to "fix" his social level (Hodge and Treiman, 1968). Therefore, associates not only influence attitudes but they may also help create some of the basic structure of his value system. Since associates and friends bear directly upon social class, it is likely other related factors are also affected. In a study, neighborhood and socioeconomic status have similar effects on intelligence measurement. Neighborhood contacts sometimes contribute to delinquency (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966), and delinquency is more prevalent in the lower classes (Gould, 1969). Parents, too, have altogether different effects on their children, depending on class level. In the higher socioeconomic levels, parental encouragement appears to have a facilitating effect on the college plans of their children, especially on the more intelligent ones (Sewell and Shah, 1968).

TABLE 3

Employment by Occupation, 1970, and Net Change, 1960 to 1970
(Numbers in thousands. Annual averages)

Occupation	1970 employment		Change, 1960 to 1970			
			Number		Percent	
	Negro and other races	White	Negro and other races	White	Negro and other races	White
Total	8,445	70,182	1,518	11,332	22	19
Professional and technical	766	10,374	435	3,236	131	45
Managers, officials, and proprietors	298	7,991	120	1,102	67	16
Clerical	1,113	12,601	610	3,342	121	36
Sales	179	4,675	78	552	77	13
Craftsmen and foremen	691	9,467	276	1,328	67	16
Operatives	2,004	11,904	590	1,368	42	13
Service workers, except private household	1,547	6,608	333	1,772	27	37
Private household workers	653	906	-329	-85	-34	-9
Nonfarm laborers	866	2,859	-85	257	-9	10
Farmers and farm workers	328	2,797	-513	-1,538	-61	-35

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor.

Aside from, or along with, the stratificational level of the parents, "significant others" have a similar and often times complementary influence on a child's educational and occupational attainment (Sewell, et al., 1969).

The effects of parents and associates are particularly important for educational aspirations of working-class children. In a study by Krauss (1964), the mother's class of origin, the father's occupation, whether or not other family members had attended college, and the predominating class values of the high school combine to influence and motivate the working class youth to enter college.

There seems to be no reason for disputing the conclusion that the particular class into which an individual is born affects his job mobility through the type of neighborhood in which he lives, his associates, friends and family, and the basic values subscribed to in his class.

The upper class, however, concerns itself less with job mobility primarily because of its inherited wealth. The less fortunate middle, working, and lower classes must work. In the upper-middle class, career success is perhaps the most important value orientation. From the career stems respectability and prestige; indeed, it is the focal point for the family. They also believe in their personal capabilities, education, and organization and conscientiously try to impart these values to their children (Kahl, 1965; Caro, 1966; Kohn and Schooler, 1969).

The lower-middle class includes both white and blue-collar workers who, since they are not strongly upwardly mobile and know it, place less emphasis on their jobs and more emphasis on respectability through conformity to their class values (Kohn and Schooler, 1969).

The working-class is typically composed of blue-collar, semiskilled workers who do not work steadily at one job, but move from one job to another as the job market fluctuates. Their pay is roughly the same from year to year; their credo is "getting by." Therefore, they exhibit a more casual attitude toward work and education. For these people especially, work tends to be alienating, and they try to separate it from their home life (Kahl, 1965; Caro, 1966).

In the lower classes, the average man's life style is characterized by a fatalistic attitude toward life and a resignation to fate, frustration and defeat, and the criticism and degredation from those who are "respectable" (Kahl, 1965). In general, they feel that their situations are hopeless. With few exceptions, their aspirations for themselves and their children are low (Bell, 1965; McMillan, 1967; Mizruchi, 1967). Since so little is available to the lower classes, they may "stretch" the commonly accepted values in the community to allow themselves some measure of success. In doing this they content themselves by accepting less than would

others above them and legitimize these lowered values to make them acceptable (Rodman, 1963).

To summarize, in each class there is a certain amount of social class perpetuation. A man who begins life in the working class may well end it in that same class. He is frequently locked into the class structure. He has internalized the values, attitudes, and educational aspirations of that class. He has associated with other members of that same class who have reinforced his feelings and beliefs. His personality, to an uncertain degree, is molded by class expectations and standards of behavior. And the job positions available to him are based on his educational achievements and personal qualifications, both of which have been structured by his class. Thus, there is a cyclical effect operating to "bind" people for life in one class, releasing them only if their individual abilities and desires are strong enough to permit upward movement by capitalizing on infrequent occupational opportunities (Mayer and Buckley, 1970).

At least two studies, however, indicate class is not as important as has been proposed. Perrucci and Perrucci (1970) find that social origins have little effect on career success when occupational values, grades and educational attainment are considered. Simpson and Simpson (1962) suggest individuals having occupational advice from outside the family and positive attitudes toward work were relatively successful in their first jobs.

Occupation of Father. Inter-generational mobility, as mentioned in Chapter One, refers to the upward or downward movement in occupational level from father to son. In this country the "American Dream" makes no mention of the occupational role of the father with regard to the success of the son. Instead, the individual is supposed to be able to rise or fall within the system of work on the basis of his own merits (Weiss, 1969; Williams, 1970).

However desirable this may be, it is not usually the case. There is evidence that many sons are both influenced and aided by their fathers to either work in the same profession or to assume a job that will maintain them in either the same social level, or in a higher one (Centers, 1948; Scudder and Anderson, 1954; Krippner, 1963). For example, one of the most important reasons for lawyers entering the legal profession is that of having a lawyer parent (Zelan, 1967). Business and professional men tend to follow this trend. The fathers of an especially large number of self-employed men were also self-employed (Duncan, 1965). Business leaders appear to be strongly influenced by their fathers.

> Slightly over half are sons of owners or executives of business firms, and 14 percent are the sons of professional men like doctors, engineers, ministers, lawyers, or teachers. Thus, two out of every three leaders in American business come from families whose economic and social positions were well above the average for the nation (Warner and Abegglen, 1955).

In a related study, Adams (1954) found a difference in the backgrounds between leaders of middle-size businesses and leaders of large businesses. These findings suggest a more traditional approach toward selecting executives exists in the middle-size businesses where Adams found a greater concentration of leaders whose fathers held similar positions.

Doctors and dentists have varied backgrounds, as demonstrated in a study by More (1960), who compared the origins of medical and dental students. He found only 11 percent of the medical students had doctor fathers and only 8.2 percent of the dental students had dentist fathers. Their general occupational backgrounds, however, were more homogeneous in that the fathers of one-fourth of both kinds of students pursued professional occupations. And between one-fourth and one-third of the medical students had fathers in managerial or ownership categories. In a study of trends in the backgrounds of doctors, Adams (1953) found in the early 1900's, occupational inheritance was decreasing. Fewer doctors had fathers who were physicians then than in the late 1800's.

Studies of more recent mobility trends reveal similar findings. In the last 20 to 30 years, there has been little change in the rate of influence of the father's job on that of the son (Jackson and Crockett, 1964; Tully, et al., 1970).

Inter-generational mobility for females is essentially the same as for males. In fact, the father's occupational category, irrespective of collar color, is probably more important than the child's sex. Therefore, the blue-collar barrier might have greater consequences than sexual discrimination (DeJong, et al., 1971). In sum, inter-generational mobility is not as great as it was in the pre-industrial society. In a fast-paced industrial technology, personal abilities mean much more to an organization than family ties (Cutright, 1968). But, on the other hand, those whose fathers are in top social levels and have high status positions do have a distinct advantage. They are given what Joseph Kahl (1965) terms a "favorable handicap" of motivation and education.

Religion. The effects of religious preference on occupation are not as discernible as such characteristics as age or sex. However, religion does affect occupational choice. Super (1957) argues this point forcefully when he observes:

> Since children tend to be reared in the religion of their parents, it is obvious that religious values which affect behavior may be expected to affect the vocational preferences of youth. The Calvinistic emphasis on individual responsibility and enterprise may be expected to result in more preferences for executive, professional and self-employment than the Roman Catholic emphasis on the acceptance of authority and fitting into the established scheme of things. The Quaker interpretation of Christian teachings may be expected to produce more social workers and teachers than professional soldiers, whereas in the less Europeanized Moslem

culture, preferences for military careers outnumber those for social work and teaching.

Because achievement motivation differs somewhat with each religious denomination, occupational attitudes vary correspondingly. Protestants and Jews particularly have greater motivation, achievement values, and educational and vocational aspirations than do Catholics. In many instances, the ethnicity of the groups identified with certain religions may have an added effect on mobility. However, the effects of religion persist (Rosen, 1959; McClellan, 1961; Glenn and Hyland, 1967; Verhoff, et al., 1962).

An exception to this has been cited by Verhoff, et al. (1962), who found Catholic men have a higher achievement need than Protestant men. However, other researchers have concluded that no relationship exists between religious values of Catholics and Protestants and their mobility rates (Mack, et al., 1956; Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

Religious discrimination in jobs, though not as widely practiced today as in previous decades, still exists. One need only look at Ireland, the Middle East or India to observe the strife caused by religious discrimination. In the United States, the most notable example is Jewish discrimination; however, Jewish achievement, values and occupational success are sufficiently high that they belie this fact (Bernard, 1962).

Education. With the exception of inheritance, education is the most essential means to occupational success (Sexton, 1967; Anderson, 1971). The amount of schooling an individual has is positively related to his income (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972). Both whites and nonwhites profit economically from education; however, when educational attainment is controlled by race, income is lower for nonwhites than for whites.

The type of job a person gets is also directly related to his educational achievement. ". . . College-educated persons get the better careers and white-collar jobs; high school graduates get the lower white-collar, skilled and blue-collar, and better service jobs, and school dropouts must be content with what's left over" (Anderson, 1971).

Education, then, is the major factor contributing to upward mobility and should essentially dispose of the barriers to occupational success. However, many people do not even complete high school and fewer still complete college. Blacks, other minorities, and lower-class persons generally have lower than average rates of school completion (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972).

There are several explanations for this low rate of school graduation. First, not enough money is spent on education, either on the schools themselves or on teacher salaries (Anderson, 1971). While 33 percent of the federal budget is allocated for defense, only 4.3 percent

is allocated for education, one-third of which is for higher education. Also, while federal funding has risen from 1.1 percent of the budget in 1960 to 3.7 in 1970, school enrollment has risen from 45,228,000 in 1960 to 58,766,000 in 1970. While this may not appear too disfavorable, it should be noted that educational expenditures rose only in federal budgets; the percentage of state expenditures increased only 0.7 percent while the percentage of local expenditures actually decreased 6.2 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972).

Even though funds are low, school expenditures and allocations are not equally distributed among schools or school districts. Perhaps the major reason for this is the way in which schools are financed—through the property tax. The wealthier communities can and do provide more money for their schools than do poorer communities. Thus, suburban schools have more money per pupil, better physical facilities, lower pupil-teacher ratio, better equipped schools, and better paid teachers (Conant, 1961; Sexton, 1961; Anderson, 1971). Since many middle-class families are moving out of the cities, the situation is not likely to improve.

Class Differences. Another important factor that is not easily changed by education is class differences. Class attitudes, motivations and expectations are not readily changed. Also, the more privileged children—whether financially or intellectually privileged—usually maintain those differences throughout school. This, coupled with the differing quality of schools in poor and wealthy neighborhoods, adds up to uneven occupational preparation for many young people (Bernard, 1962).

The varying educational philosophies in existence may create additional barriers to occupational success. Different educational critics point to different inadequacies in the educational system. Anderson (1971) and Bowles (1972) claim the schools are directed more toward training people to perform efficiently in their jobs than in educating them. In doing this, they reward and promote those students who are conforming, disciplined, and obedient. The truly creative students who do not adjust very well to school are potential dropouts. The schools frequently "turn them off . . . or attempt to push them out" and effectively bar them from participating in white-collar careers. Bowles also says the schools reinforce class stratification through the separation of students according to their interests, abilities, and intellectual levels. These inequalities in education limit the educational attainment of the lower classes. In fact, educational attainment varies directly with class status. Those in the upper-classes complete more years of schooling than those in the lower classes (Spady, 1967). This creates a self-perpetuating cycle, for those with more schooling are better equipped to get the best jobs while those without much schooling must take what is left. A further comment on the lower classes is provided by Anderson (1971) who strongly criticizes the schools for creating additional obstacles for this group. The attitudes of teachers, counselors and administrators toward these students may create in them feelings of inadequacy, which

negatively affect school performance. Another critic, Sexton (1970), feels that the American school system acts in several ways to feminize boys. In a study of boys' achievement in school, Sexton determined that an inverse relationship exists between masculinity and good grades in school. A boy who rates high on masculinity usually doesn't make high grades, while one who rates low on masculinity does. She also implies that the schools are "dehumanizing and unmanly places" for most young people.

Blacks and other minorities have a unique problem in school. Their achievement may depend on whether or not their schools are integrated (Salomone and Smith, 1973). Generally, their skills in reading, counting, writing and problem-solving are lower than those for whites. However, those minorities who attend a desegregated school where over 50 percent of the students are white show increases in reading and math achievement (Coleman, 1966).

Since education is essential for upward occupational mobility, it should be clear that because not all people get an equal chance to be educated, not all will be equally able to move upward. The educational system, in itself the primary means of upward mobility, effectively bars many individuals from becoming mobile.

Status Attainment. It has been impossible in the past to disentangle the extent to which socio-cultural factors act and react upon each other to produce occupational attainment. Status attainment research is emerging as an important specialty in the field of mobility and promises to unravel some of the difficulty. Using a path-analytic framework, the basic purpose of status attainment studies concerns developing a recursive model in explaining occupational achievement. The first, most influential attempt to do this (Blau and Duncan, 1967) resulted in specifying: (1) the father's education, (2) and the father's occupation as the essential antecedent structural variables; (3) the respondent's education, (4) and the respondent's first job as the most important intervening behavioral variables; and (5) the respondent's present job as the dependent variable.

Additional research by Haller, et al. (1969) has amplified further the original model by emphasizing social psychological antecedents of occupational attainment. Besides the factors stressed by Blau and Duncan (1967), Haller, et al. (1969) isolated the importance of aspirations and significant others in the goal attainment process.

Subsequent research has added to these earlier models of status attainment by examining occupational attainment against such variables as (1) background factors (national origin, race, number of siblings and family status), (2) intelligence, (3) social influences (parent's aspirations for ego and significant-others), and (4) career contingencies (occupational level at the beginning of respondent's career, educational attainment by age at the time of first job, migration, marriage, size of family of procreation, timing of fertility) (Duncan, et al., 1968).

The specific findings reported in these studies generally corroborate the findings already reported in the literature. The major contribution, so far, of status attainment researchers is in identifying a causal, unidirectional, chain of factors associated with occupational achievement, which is diagramatically shown in Figure 3.

Unionism

> The proportion of the labor force which is unionized has fluctuated considerably in the United States. In 1900 only 3 percent of the workers were organized, and the figure rose to 12 percent in 1920, a longtime peak. During the Great Depression (1930) the rate fell to less than 7 percent, but it rose steadily after the passage of the Wagner Act in 1937. With the economic prosperity induced by World War II (it) reached 23 percent in 1944. Since then the rate has stabilized at about one-quarter of the labor force (Miller and Form, 1964).

Because a large number of workers are unionized, it is important to consider the effects of union membership on them. Unions were formed originally to prevent management exploitation of industrial workers. The job market was open and workers had little or no control over their jobs. The unions attempted to organize labor in order to substitute union principles of seniority and solidarity for cutthroat competition (Bernard, 1962). Miller and Form (1964) list four functions of the union. They are:

1) Providing economic security through continued improvement of wages.

2) Providing the workers with the means for resisting pressures from employers and demonstrating their sense of independence on the job.

3) Allowing the workers to gain personal recognition within the union structure.

4) Giving the members respectability and social participation. As the unions have become more acceptable within the community, their mantle of respectability has been thrown over all members. They have provided members with means for participation in the social structure by providing them with added services such as counseling of all kinds, educational and recreational programs, a lobby in Congress, etc.

Within the union are three means for moving upward: increased wages; seniority and help programs; and policies such as fringe benefits, and legal aid services. The union functions in two ways to improve the income of its members. It has for many years helped in the struggle for a standard minimum wage. Poorer people in particular benefited from the

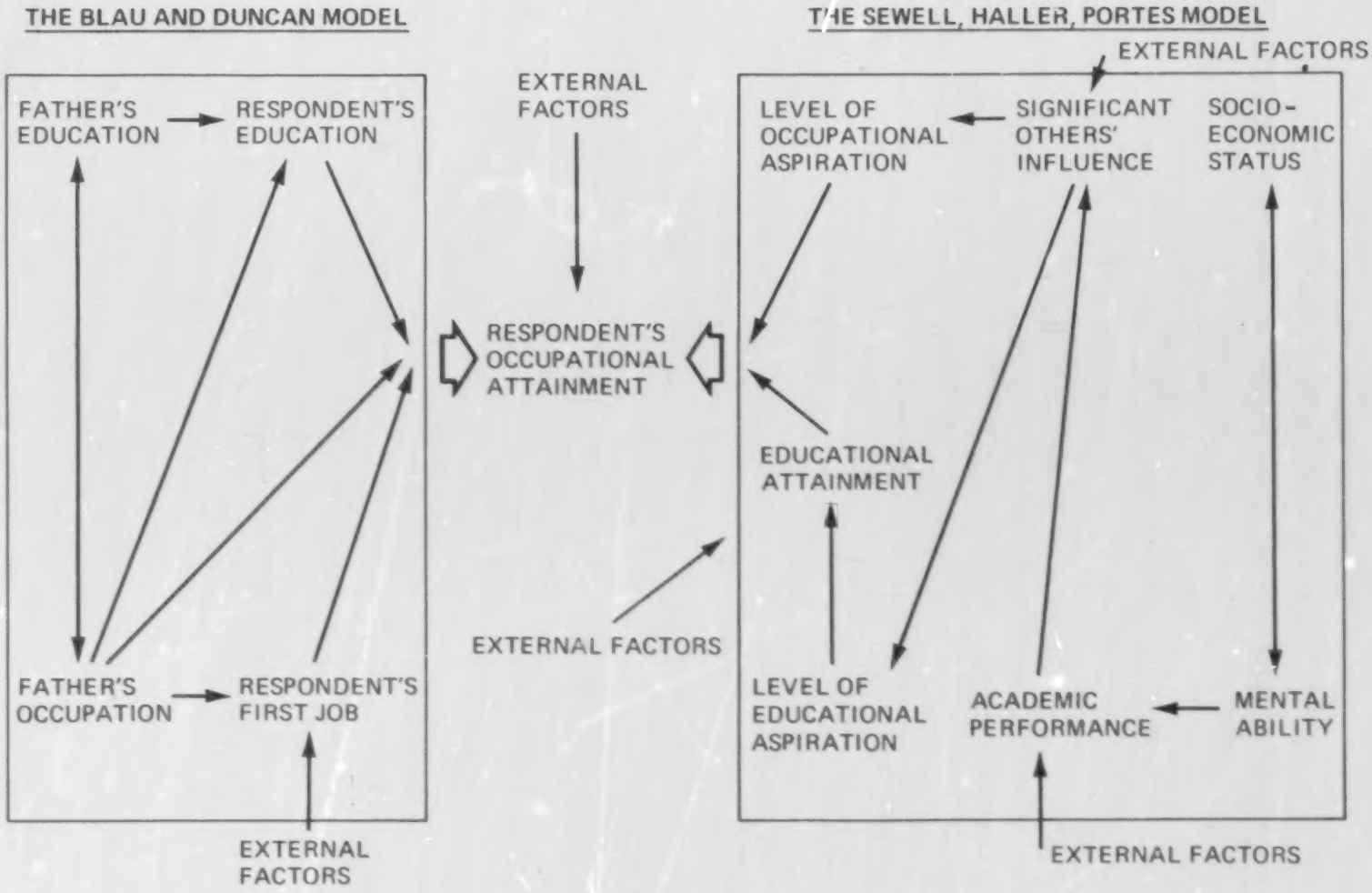

Figure 3. Models of Occupational Attainment
(Sewall, et al., 1969:85; Blau and Duncan, 1967:170)

establishment of a minimum wage. By raising their pay, millions of workers have been "lifted . . . out of poverty" (Burkhardt, 1969). In 1970, the AFL-CIO pushed Congress to raise the minimum wage to $2.00 per hour. The minimum wage in 1970 was $1.60 per hour which means that a worker on minimum wage salary earned $3200.00 per year. Since an income under $3900.00 for a non-farm family of four constitutes a poverty income, workers on the present minimum wage fell under this category. Two dollars per hour would mean an income of $4000.00 per year, or slightly over the poverty line (Burkhardt, 1970). This type of struggle is common for the unions. The reader is probably well aware of the union's constant fight to raise the incomes of its members through work stoppages, boycotts and strikes. In attempting to raise the incomes of union members, unions are striving to be directly involved in raising the workers' standards of living (Reynolds, 1951; Schneider, 1957; Lenski, 1966).

Seniority. For union members, promotion most often occurs because of seniority. Seniority is also used as the basis for other opportunities such as overtime work, which workers remain when some are laid off, and which ones are first called back to work after a shutdown (Chamberlain, 1964). For some individuals this "rule" actually prevents them from being demoted or laid off. For example, some unions have clauses in their contracts that provide opportunities for workers who have been replaced by automated equipment (Tyler, 1967).

With seniority as the basis for promotion and upward mobility, personal initiative by union members is not particularly valued, nor is it appreciated by fellow workers. In some companies, any work done over the quota brings extra pay; however, the union may pressure members to only fill quotas, and then, personal incentive suffers (Franks, 1963). The union effectively develops its own channels and controls for upward mobility.

Another way in which unions exert control over workers is evident in some states not having "right-to-work" laws. Unions are allowed to bargain for all workers in a "closed shop." Therefore, for some company workers, union membership is compulsory if they are to remain on their jobs (Franks, 1963; Hilgert and Young, 1963).

Fringe Benefits. Fringe benefits added to regular pay naturally increase the value of a person's job. By helping members get these benefits, the unions have improved the working man's compensation. For example, monetary benefits may include extra pay for overtime or late shift work, pension plans, paid vacations and health, accident and life insurance (Oswald and Smythe, 1970). Benefits of a non-monetary nature include job-training programs such as the ones used especially among unskilled blacks. Free legal services are also provided for some union members (Marshall, 1971).

A new trend in unionization today could substantially affect the structure of many occupations: white-collar and professional employees are beginning to unionize. Retail workers and postal clerks are white-collar workers who have unionized, while teachers, nurses, and airline pilots are examples of unionized professionals. Many people in the entertainment and communications fields have also formed unions (Kassalow, 1966; Sturmthal, 1966; Solomon and Burns, 1963). Others who are presently considering unionization are physicians, stockbrokers, diplomats, professors, scientists, and engineers (Times-Picayune, 1972).

Governmental Programs

The federal government has passed several acts and amendments providing funded educational and training programs and in so doing has facilitated occupational achievement. These programs, described in the *Manpower Report of the President* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1971), are primarily designed to:

1) upgrade the training of workers who may become technologically obsolete;

2) supplement the poor education and training of those who are ill-equipped for better jobs—this especially includes unskilled workers;

3) educate and train many unemployed to reduce the welfare roles; and

4) help workers adapt to the economic changes in the country, such as economic slowdown that began in the 1970's.

Federal manpower programs are classified according to the following categories:

1) Higher Education and Professional Training

2) Assistance to Groups with Special Needs

3) Occupational Training

4) Alleviation of Poverty

5) Vocational Education (U.S. Department of Labor, 1964).

In each category, specific programs exist to alleviate particular problems. For each program, legislation provides necessary funding.

1) Higher Education and Professional Training.

Provisions have been made to give financial aid to persons being trained in many professional fields. For example, the National Defense Education Act, The Fulbright-Hayes Act, The Health Professions Educational Assistance Act and The Nurse Training Act provide student loans, and grants or scholarships to youths in the areas of teacher training and medicine. Additionally, Section 404 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides funds for training teachers to cope with public school desegregation.

2) Assistance to Groups with Special Needs.

Funds are available for training persons with special learning problems. Cubans have been educated or retrained under the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act. Physically and mentally handicapped people are trained or rehabilitated under the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1954. Adult American Indians can get vocational training under the Adult Indian Vocational Training Act. Children of deceased or totally disabled veterans can get funds for college under The War Orphans Educational Assistance Act.

3) Occupational Training.

Two laws benefiting primarily unemployed and underemployed people in the labor force were passed in the mid-1960's. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1964) and The Manpower Act in 1965 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1969) provide training to these people along with financial assistance such as transportation and subsistance allowances. Programs in this area deal specifically with the negative consequences of technological change, youth and adult unemployment, and manpower development needs of other groups of workers. Examples of these programs are Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Program (JOBS), on-the-job training for unemployed; the Experimental and Development Program (E&D) testing new ideas and methods for helping unemployed; and Concentrated Employment Programs (CEP), designated to unify all programs dealing with the disadvantaged (U.S. Department of Labor, 1969).

4) Alleviation of Poverty.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provides financing for programs which help train, educate and provide employment for those individuals in poverty. Some programs in this area are: Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), a training

program for disadvantaged potential school dropouts (U.S. Department of Labor, 1972); work study program, providing jobs for needy college students; and Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1969). The Welfare Administration also has developed some programs for the poor that are part of the E&D program.

5) Vocational Education.

The federal government contributes to vocational education in the public schools through allotments to each state for use as determined by the state. Historically, most of these funds have supported programs in the fields of home economics, trades and industry, and agriculture. They have also been used for special curriculum development such as practical nurses training in technical schools and junior colleges.

Comparatively recent developments in vocational and technical education have given rise to the idea of career education, which involves reformulating and presenting occupational information and skills using occupational clusters as its focal paradigm. The Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has budgeted approximately $104,000,000 (in 1972) for implementing career educational concepts into the elementary and secondary schools (Goldhammer and Taylor, 1972).

Technology and Automation

Technology and automation are two words thought to signify for many people desirable social and economic progress. For years man has struggled for dominance over his world. He has built machines to simplify work and enable him to gain more control over his environment (Woodward, 1971). The planning and building of these machines has provided many people with jobs as does the management and care of them. Technology has, in fact, changed the structure of the occupational system. It has made many manual labor jobs unnecessary, while it has increased the need for skilled and technical workers at higher levels (Bernard, 1962). Mobility, then, may be a function of the job market (Rogoff, 1953).

Aside from creating more jobs, the use of machines may lend a certain status to them. The individual who works with and controls complicated machinery must be highly trained and skilled. Therefore his job tends to carry with it the prestige that is accorded to technical expertise (Williams, 1967). Since these jobs require special training there will likely be greater job opportunities open to those individuals who are more highly trained, and educated, or for those who may enroll in governmental training programs (Striner, 1966; Heilbroner, 1968).

The other face of technology creates a gloomier picture for thousands of workers. With more machines doing what was previously man's work there is less need for human labor (Lenski, 1966). As more jobs become obsolete, vast numbers of people become unemployed and problems in retraining and relocating them are experienced. This is particularly difficult when a whole group of jobs has been automated, as in coal mining. These individuals must be retrained for entirely new occupations in different industries. It may be especially hard to retrain a worker who has strongly identified himself with his job, and serious problems can arise in trying to help him adjust to a new type of work (Tiffany, et al., 1970).

Automation may also limit the number of available jobs. In many companies necessary decreases in employment are produced through attrition. When an employee quits, resigns, or is fired, his job may not be filled if it can be accomplished by machinery (Anderson, 1971).

Finally, Ogburn (1964) developed the term "cultural lag" to describe the time that elapses when man tries to catch up to his technology. Toffler (1970) talks about the short range planning that usually accompanies technological advancements. This leads, he says, to even more uncertainty in jobs. And the logical implication is that the worker who is caught in the "cultural lag" may suffer from "future shock." For as Anderson (1971) states, ". . . labor surplus rather than shortage is the pressing issue. Ask any graduating education major, social worker, chemist or engineer, black or white. Better still, ask any of the approximately 45,000 unemployed aerospace scientists, engineers, and technicians."

Any discussion of mobility and its structural correlates must be incomplete, avoiding as it does consideration of the consequences of mobility. To this point, attention has been directed to the influence of socio-cultural factors, unionism, governmental programs, and technology and automation which comprise the structural background of opportunity. But what does this mean to the individual and the groups with which he is affiliated? And, moreover, what are the resulting consequences to society of personal success or failure? We turn to these matters now.

IV. THE CONSEQUENCES OF MOBILITY

Occupational Mobility As a Mixed Blessing

Occupational mobility carries in its wake certain consequences for the individual and for society. Since the desire for upward mobility is so intense, it would seem obvious that people who are occupationally successful should experience only positive results. Similarly, those who are failures at work could be expected to feel only negative consequences. However, this is not always the case. For many who move up, the outcome is sometimes undesirable. And, correspondingly, for some who move downward, there may be positive results. Figure 4 presents this observation schematically.

Upward Mobility

When an individual is occupationally successful his income usually increases, his status within the organization rises, and the place of his work frequently changes. There are other less obvious changes that simultaneously accompany job mobility. Relationships with family and friends, living habits, attitudes and ideals, and even physical and mental health frequently are affected.

Occupational Success and Family Life. The effects of upward mobility on the family are manifold (Goode, 1966). First, mobility, especially when it involves a change in residence, may be accompanied by a reduction in social control. Strangers to a new community are initially under less pressure to conform to community standards. Obviously, strangers cannot invoke social pressures with the same intensity as can friends and associates. Also, different patterns of behavior exist in each community, and the clash of old and new patterns of behavior may have a disorganizing effect on the family (Locke, 1940; Burgess, et al., 1971).

Cohesion, Conflict, and Individualism. In a study of family cohesion LeMasters (1954) identified two types of families and observed the extent of family cohesion in each. In nonmobile families, family cohesion was high, while in mobile families it was relatively lower. Mobile families were further divided into two sub-types; those in which the entire family moved upward, and those in which only one member moved up. Where the whole family was upwardly mobile, cohesion within the family was greater than that between members of the family and other relatives. However, when only one family member moved upward, greater strain and tension resulted between that person and his family. Thus greater strain

CONSEQUENCES OF MOBILITY	DIRECTION OF MOBILITY: UPWARD MOBILITY	DIRECTION OF MOBILITY: DOWNWARD MOBILITY
POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES	IMPROVED LIFE STYLE: BETTER LIFE CHANCES	REDUCTION OF PRESSURE TO SUCCEED. DISSOLVE UNDESIRABLE FAMILY TIES
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES	LOSS OF FRIENDS AND TIES WITH OLD SOCIAL CLASS MARGINAL STATUS WITH NEW CLASS	WORSENED LIFE CHANCES, LESS DESIRABLE LIFE STYLE

Figure 4. Illustration of Possible Consequences of Upward and Downward Mobility

might develop between a man (who moved upward with his wife and children) and his brother (who did not) than between that same man and his wife or children.

Tension and conflict within an upwardly mobile family may be caused in yet another way. Children moving into a new, higher class may reject their parents for their "lower" status (Warner and Abegglen, 1955). Indeed, some parents with higher aspirations for their children teach them the values and goals of a higher class with the result that their own lower status is rejected (Riesman, et al., 1953).

Family disorganization can have a unique and potentially rewarding effect on the individual family member. It sometimes promotes individualism. If individualism is valued, then it will, accordingly, be evaluated positively. The upwardly mobile individual who moves from one stratum to another also has the opportunity to see differing viewpoints, styles of living, intellectual atmospheres, standards, and customs. He is exposed not to one narrow view of life as is the man who remains in the same job for his entire life, but observes and more importantly experiences, several different modes of life (Sorokin, 1959).

An interesting notion about the social distances between mobile relatives is proposed by Adams (1972). He suggests even though families have been separated physically and socially by their upward movement, the technology that fostered their movement also provides them with the tools of communication by which they can maintain their family relations. For example, telephones bring people who are far apart closer together.

Illustration of this fact was the finding made in the 1950's that aged welfare recipients in Great Britain were less lonely and consequently happier than their counterparts in the United States because the aged in Britain were given telephones, whereas those in the United States were not.

Breakdown of the Extended Family, Isolation and Non-Involvement. Certain family types may not be suited for a mobile society. It has been suggested the extended family cannot and will not exist in conditions of persistent high mobility. People who aspire to upward mobility must be ready to move from their homes and hometowns with shifting job demands. For these people close ties with relatives who, themselves, cannot move might limit aspirations. By developing a different family system, such as the nuclear family, mobility is less painfully achieved. In fact, one suggestion is that this is the only type of family that is compatible with a highly mobile society (Parsons, 1954). An opposing view, however, is that a modification of the extended family may be the better type for the highly mobile family. This type, composed of "a series of families bound together on an equalitarian basis, with a strong emphasis on these extended family bonds" may be more conducive to family success and cohesion (Litwak, 1960).

A more positive consequence of mobility on family cohesion results from the high rate of residential or geographical movement of mobiles. Some who are highly mobile may also develop closely knit, unified nuclear families because of their mobility. Apparently the isolation they experience from others helps make them feel closer to each other. Because of frequent household changes the participation of family members in these moves can, in itself, be a unifying cause. For the children in these families, frequent change in schools can force a greater dependence on the family for social contact and again may add to family cohesion (Burgess, et al., 1971). Therefore, in this respect, isolation from others may positively affect family relations.

However, social isolation is not always pleasant. Most people need close contact with, and support from, others. Mobility may decrease such relationships. Mobile families shifting from one place to another and from one job status to another do not have many chances to develop close intimate relations with others. They tend to remain aloof and isolated.

Commenting on the personal, familial and civic dangers associated with occupational success, Salomone (1970) remarked:

> People once were born, lived, and died in the same community. Now one in five Americans moves every year. With each move, old friendships are severed, and time is required before new commitments can be made.
>
> The migration of American families from place to place in pursuit of occupational success places heavy psychological demands on the nuclear family since the social and institutional supports of extended family, friends, and clergy are more likely to be denied those who live far away.
>
> It is generally conceded that people seek and need the emotional support of others. As we move about the country, the only persons from whom we can reasonably expect to receive daily love, affection, and attention over the span of an entire lifetime are husband, wife or children. When they fail to give, or refuse to continue giving, such emotional support, the person feels acutely threatened since he may be unable to find someone else to whom he can turn.
>
> Furthermore, a transient psychology seems to be associated with movers as they frequently fail, for whatever reasons, to invest and commit themselves to educational, religious, political and civic issues in the communities in which they happen to live. By the time they finally realize that they will never "return home," they have lost many valuable years to a strategy of unplanned and unconscious community non-involvement.

The more successful the person, the greater the danger, because the distance between himself and others increases proportionately. As an individual moves upward in the work

organization, he also moves farther away from those with whom he had worked. In fact, the highly mobile individual tends not to form many close personal attachments (Sorokin, 1959; Levinson, 1964). He knows he must be ready to move at any time and must be able to move easily. Herbert Gans (1972) provides a contrary argument in a study in which he found recent arrivals to a community glad to be there, eager to form new friendships, and enthusiastic in their support of civic and political concerns.

Successful Business Executives. Top business executives are a notable example of uprootedness. They are often isolated and lonely, operating separate and apart from those beneath them and in many instances able to confide only in their wives (Taylor, 1968). The wives, too, may experience the same isolation as they and their husbands move up and about. Social contacts in particular may be affected. If they move up faster than their friends, friendships often become strained, increasing their isolation (Whyte, 1951). Important studies confirming these findings have been made by Henry (1949), and Pellegrin and Coats (1957).

In a classic study, Henry (1949) reported on the perceived mixed positive and negative consequences of success among business executives. He identified a constellation of personality characteristics said to be common of business executives. On the positive side, executives said they possess a strong desire to achieve, expect to be upwardly mobile, have the ability to organize work and social situations, are capable of making appropriate decisions, and are prone toward activity. Conversely, they feel apprehensive about failing, think they must place the company before their family life, and believe they are likely to develop ulcers and other nervous disorders because of the anxiety produced by the emotional strain associated with their work.

Pellegrin and Coats (1957) compared executives and supervisors by contrasting self-other conceptions of each other. Their results are consistent with those of Henry. Executives felt that promotion (mobility) meant for them:

1) ill health resulting from job pressures;

2) greater worry;

3) lack of leisure;

4) inability to lead a normal life;

5) loneliness;

6) the feeling that hard work would lead to even harder work;

7) disruption of personal plans;

8) suppression of personal desires for the company; and

9) constant fear of making the wrong decisions.

In the face of a growing awareness of, and current emphasis on, the personal, familial, and civic dysfunctions of frequent mobility, many top executives, who issue the orders to move to their subordinates, are asking themselves, "Are transfers necessary for career advancement?" A report in *Business Week* (1972), indicates that "more and more, the answer is no." Management is questioning the advisability of frequent moves because many employees are beginning to say no! They are coming to believe it simply is not worth it. Those who are asked to move maintain that mobility is detrimental to their family life, adversely affects their political and religious beliefs, and forces them into a state of anonymity by disengaging them from their communities.

As a consequence of criticism from within and without (Toffler, 1970; Packard, 1972) new company policies are emerging which attempt to slow down or, if possible, reverse the rate of geographical mobility related to company transfers. After all, company transfers, alone, account for more than 20 million moves each year in the United States.

People Without Roots. Vance Packard (1972) focuses on the isolating effects of rootlessness caused by rapid mobility. Mobile people, he says, have less concern for the social consequences of their actions. They do not succumb so easily to social pressures from others. Generally highly mobile people either accept their isolated status or they attempt to generate many temporary superficial friendships. Mobile individuals are also generally unconcerned about the "goings-on" in their local communities. After all, why would a person become involved in the affairs of a community that he might leave at any time?

Aside from those consequences, Packard also attributes to the upwardly mobile the following characteristics:

1) values that differ from non-mobiles; mobile people tend to live for the moment—to support in thought and deed a fun morality;

2) an uncertain sense of themselves;

3) greater marital distress than non-mobile;

4) proportionately more feelings of aggression; and

5) a higher incidence of mental disorders.

Mental Illness, Politics and Race Relations. Other studies of the relationship between mental disorders and work have provided similar findings. Feelings of isolation, fear of failure, and anxiety over moving from one job to another may accompany job advancement (Levinson, 1964). The changes attending mobility do, indeed, account for many psychological disorders. In Toffler's *Future Shock* (1970) the adaptive reaction to change is discussed as a cause of various mental disorders. He maintains that the transformation accompanying geographical mobility produces anxiety, depression, feelings of grief and sometimes, even physical illness.

Mobility is also associated with shifting attitudes and values. Political attitudes, for example, are known to change with upward movement so that they more closely resemble the attitudes of the class into which one is moving. For, as an individual rises in the class system he tends to accept the values and attitudes of that class. In effect, the new class becomes a reference group for him (Lindenfeld, 1960; Turner, 1964; Thompson, 1971). Many people change their political attitudes even before they have changed occupational status (O'Kane, 1970; Hazelrigg and Lopreato, 1972).

Upwardly mobile individuals often develop politically conservative attitudes in support of the status quo. Thus, a man may reject his previously more liberal ideals as he moves upward and simultaneously come to accept the more conservative ones that promote the continuance of his success (Tumin, 1957; Lopreato, 1967). This notion is partially supported by a study of upwardly mobile legislators in Wisconsin. In a comparison of mobile and non-mobile politicians, their voting behavior indicates that the more mobile legislators are more conservative than those who are non-mobile. Mobile legislators, particularly the Republicans, tend to vote more conservatively on issues involving the public interest such as taxes, welfare and consumer problems. Those occupationally stable vote more liberally on these issues.

Attitudes toward ethnic and minority groups are not unaffected by occupational success. Most of the literature supports the idea that as one moves up, his ethnic and racial prejudices decrease. Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) found generally that "moderate upward mobility does not increase ethnic prejudice and often brings some decline in hostility." Curtis (1958) found contrary evidence suggesting "rapid and extreme upward mobility would increase prejudice."

Another view of prejudice and mobility focuses on a different aspect of this relationship. Silberstein and Seeman (1959) and Greenblum and Pearlin (1953) have examined the meaning

of and the desire for mobility. They suggest that strength of mobility orientation, fear and insecurity developed by this upward striving combine to create negative feelings toward certain ethnic or racial groups. Therefore, the individual frequently feels threatened by the persons who are perceived as his immediate competitors. Feelings of hostility toward them become the natural end result.

Marginality. As the occupationally successful earn more money and enjoy higher status they eventually embrace a different life-style. This usually means a move to a more expensive neighborhood, joining more socially prominent clubs, sending the children to "better schools," and associating with a different social set. As a result, interpersonal relations for the upwardly mobile undergo substantial change. Mobility may well mean seeing former friends from your class of origin less frequently. As a consequence, the occupationally mobile tend to be marginal (Bruce, 1970); they are not so well integrated into either their past or present social group (Blau, 1956).

Other manifestations that present themselves among mobile persons are: (1) symptoms of anxiety (Kessin, 1971); (2) fear of risk (Reiss, 1955); and (3) sometimes an absolute decrease in job satisfaction (Lehman, 1968).

Cameron (1963) and Presthus (1962) describe still another negative characteristic of the upwardly mobile which involves a distinct change in one's value orientation. The upwardly mobile individual usually identifies with the values and goals of his employer-organization. Since the rationality of the bureaucracy has been proven through its success, he does not feel compelled to question it. This also simplifies his decision-making, for conflicts between his personal ideals and the company are solved through his company allegiance. Therefore, he may "sell out" or manipulate himself in order to further his status (Mills, 1951). This desire is so great that for many workers the status that was a symbol of success becomes a goal in itself.

Business is also affected by the displacement of goals. Presthus states that "by changing the conditions of work, bureaucratic structure has tended to change the character of work." For now, instead of rewarding the work one does, rewards are based on the cooperation between various role players within the organization. The upwardly mobile person then, assumes the goals of the organization in order to reap its rewards, and again in so doing negates his personal values and goals.

Business does not benefit from the person who does this because he is constantly attempting to play their game, and when he does, both lose out. The contributions that might have been made by the dynamic individual are suppressed and substituted for those routine

contributions of the "company man" whose primary efforts are spent fulfilling his occupational role requirements. The individual loses that all essential quality, his integrity; for, in order to get ahead he sells his soul (Presthus, 1962; Cameron, 1963).

Upward Skidding. In an exciting essay, Cameron (1963) applies the appelation "upward skidding" to the person who becomes unconsciously alienated from himself as a consequence of his obsessive devotion to mobility.

Because of the desire for success the upward skidder has to sell himself in order to achieve success. Money is all too important to him. The use of it is carefully controlled. One must have the right car, clothes, house, etc. The purchase and use of these things are carefully calculated to present an air of confidence and success. Even though this portrays a false front the skidder is so dedicated to the pursuit of his success that he continues what is essentially a self-alienating process.

Along with this effect, the pursuit of success contaminates his work. Because the skidder values his success more than his craftsmanship, he denies the value of his work and consequently, becomes estranged from it.

Having relinquished his craftsmanship and integrity, the skidder erroneously allows others to determine his tastes. He accepts the standards of the advertising merchants and follows the styles they set for him. In doing this, he is easily identified by his up-to-date, or "in," wardrobe, car, and house decor. For, above all, his desire is to be upwardly mobile. If these means assure mobility, they will be accepted. In fact, the major difference between the upward skidder and others who are upwardly mobile is his dedication above all else to the idea of mobility. For him, mobility is an end-in-itself.

Blocked Mobility

If the consequences of upward and downward mobility have importance, then certainly those of blocked mobility must also be significant. Blocked mobility occurs when people are "locked in," when they are prevented from moving upward.

Blocked mobility is essentially a problem of lack of opportunity for those who are qualified for advancement and who want it. The other side of this two-headed coin—blocked downward mobility is not as problematic in society today. Deadheadism is a source of much inefficiency in the private and public economy as well as a morale problem for qualified and highly motivated subordinates who see their chance for advancement delayed by bureaucratic inertia and by incompetent co-workers and superiors.

There are large numbers of people who are denied upward mobility. For these individuals the frustrations and failures experienced by that blockage create certain personal and social difficulties.

First, workers who are not promoted may develop passive attitudes toward their work. They tend to become less alert, less active and their productive output decreases (Warner, 1962). Others develop attitudes of alienation toward society; they demonstrate a kind of withdrawal from those around them (Wilensky, 1966).

Some reactions are of a more active nature. "Troublemakers" emerge who attempt to thwart the productivity of fellow workers or of their company. Sometimes, however, they channel their frustrations into union activity, and in so doing may actually benefit both themselves and others. Another reaction to failure is psychosomatic illness. One well-known example is that of the businessman's ulcer. It is commonly accepted that this malaise accompanies the frustrations of upward striving and fear of failure (Warner, 1962).

For some, however, denial of occupational success means poorer health. The lower class, after all, die younger, are sick more often, and when sick are frequently sick longer than the non-poor (Dohrenwend, 1966; Crandell and Dohrenwend, 1967; Kadushin, 1967). The high rate of psychiatric illness among the poor is certainly related to their high rate of physical illness (Crandell and Dohrenwend, 1967).

A further, intriguing explanation for the high rate of illness within the lower class is in the "legitimation of failure thesis." If an individual becomes aware that he cannot succeed he sometimes attempts to justify his failure on the basis of illness. In this way he can excuse his failure because the illness prevented him from achieving success (Mechanic and Volkart, 1961; Cole and Lejune, 1972).

The Special Case of the American Negro

The case of the Negro in America is a classic example of blocked mobility. Blacks in this country have historically been prevented from upward movement and have developed certain patterns of accommodation to enable them to function adequately under those difficult circumstances. They have long suppressed their aggressions and replaced them with passive attitudes. They have turned their hostilities for whites onto members of their own race. Additionally, as reported in Chapter 2, they have accepted other less legitimate types of gratification (Dollard, 1957; Rodman, 1963).

For many blacks, however, accommodation is not the answer. If controlling forces are weakened or removed, feelings may no longer be repressed. Anger and rage emerge and are

generally manifest in crime and violence. Additionally, crime and violence function as means for proving one's manliness. If other roads to success are closed, violence and lawlessness may become the only way to achieve success. In fact, they can be regarded as virtues in some segments of the black subculture (Kardiner and Ovessey, 1951; Janowitz, 1969; Comer, 1969; *Crimes of Violence*,1969). In their analysis of occupational mobility Blau and Duncan (1967) find these reasons responsible for the lower occupational status of blacks:

1) Blacks are disadvantaged relative to whites not only educationally but also in respect to all other career contingencies.

2) The mean occupational status of non-whites is lower than that of whites at all educational levels.

3) The occupational status of the fathers of non-whites is consistently lower than that of the fathers of whites.

4) In sum, blacks are handicapped by having poorer parents, less education, and inferior early career experiences.

Blau and Duncan also point out an unexpected consequence of these characteristics of job mobility among blacks. Instead of being more upwardly mobile than whites (because they start at a lower level) they "are more likely to be downwardly and less likely to be upwardly mobile than whites." They suggest several reasons for this apparent incongruity: blacks have less educational and occupational incentive than whites; there has probably been an increase in economic discrimination against blacks in recent decades; education is not as effective for blacks as for whites; and the more highly educated and motivated black person is more sensitive to discrimination and therefore possibly becomes more militant.

Downward Mobility

For most, downward mobility is considered one of the worst fates that can befall an individual. The desire for upward mobility has been ingrained throughout the educational and socialization processes and is an indelible part of our basic value structure and goals. Very few, deliberately seek downward mobility in the occupational world. As a consequence, seekers of occupational success who experience only failure, are beset with certain problems.

Self-Esteem and Mental Health

Generally, the consequences of downward mobility are centered on an individual's negative perception of himself. A demotion, after all, usually implies that superiors have

defined you as less than adequate for the job. Those who identify themselves as failures, then, naturally experience reductions in self-esteem, heightened anxiety over their jobs, and escalating resentment toward their superiors. They may "give up" and continue to work, but with a "resigned" attitude. Or, their feelings may be expressed in a desire for revenge against the company. Others exhibit less obvious effects such as a slowing down on the job or withdrawing from those around them. Associating with others is all important in work groups because it signifies acceptance. Lack of such acceptance is an indication of loss of social esteem and, subsequently, of a reduction in self-esteem (More, 1962).

Lowering of self-esteem may also bring with it accompanying feelings of hostility, particularly toward those to whom the downwardly mobile individual feels superior. One example of this is the downwardly mobile's increase in prejudice toward racial and ethnic groups. These minority groups are usually viewed as threatening when they exhibit an intense desire to be upwardly mobile. For the individual who had previously felt superior to these minorities his own demotion and their upward pushing may combine to lock him into a vise of fear and anxiety (Greenblum and Pearlin, 1953).

The desire for upward mobility of the downwardly mobile may be even a greater factor in the development of poor mental health. For those who either aspire to a superior position or expect to avoid movement downward, a demotion may have greater adverse effects on them than on others without such aspirations. For moving down means greater discrepancies in self-esteem and greater depreciation of feelings of worthiness. Thus there is a greater probability that mental health will be taxed (Kleiner and Parker, 1963; Kardiner and Ovessey, 1951; Gerard and Houston, 1953; Jaco, 1959; Srole, et al., 1962).

In some cases, downward mobility may be so disruptive that suicide results (Breed, 1963). It is not yet known whether the suicide associated with downward mobility is related to a desire to quit everything, or the shock of loss, or the severe reactions felt by those who had strong upward aspirations. Of course, other factors such as overwhelming family responsibilities, drinking problems and illness are related to the desire for self-destruction.

Politics and Failure

Another reaction to downward mobility relates to political attitudes. In two conflicting studies "skidders" were found to develop conservative tendencies (Wilensky and Edwards, 1959) and leftist attitudes (Lopreato and Chafetz, 1970).

In a study of downward inter- and intra-generational mobility, Wilensky and Edwards found that skidders are more ideologically conservative than non-skidders. That is, their

values and beliefs concerning the stratification order were more conservative than other workers in the same class. In their study of over 1,500 Italians, Lopreato and Chafetz found leftist political leaning among skidders. They report the farther the skidder falls, the greater the probability of his becoming a leftist.

Skidding and Family Ties

The entire consanguineal family can be affected by downward mobility. Downwardly mobile individuals place somewhat greater stress on extended family relations than do those who are upwardly mobile or stationary (Litwak, 1960). Adams (1972) suggests, however, there are relatively stronger personal relationships between children and parents in upwardly mobile homes. Siblings of downwardly mobile parents may have closer relationships as they are "apparently drawn together by their mutual plight." But, if one sibling is upwardly mobile, the others tend to blame the parents for their lack of mobility.

Other effects of downward mobility are identified by Burgess, et al. (1971), who say loss of occupational status weakens the structure of the family. An economic or financial strain impedes the achievement of goals toward which the family has been working and thus weakens its internal morale. The family must readjust its economic sights by lowering its level of living. Those who cannot or will not do this face financial ruin. Individual roles are inevitably changed as a result of changes in the role of the breadwinner. In a family in which support is provided by another person, the father-husband risks the loss of prestige while the new breadwinner enjoys what could be termed status enhancement.

Are There Any Advantages?

Since downward mobility is almost universally feared and avoided, it seems reasonable to suppose there would be few if any benefits associated with demotion. However, in a study of the types, causes and effects of demotion there is a hint that demotion is beneficial for some individuals. One possible effect is that those demoted improve their work in order to reoccupy their previous position. But more importantly, however, for those whose work is excessively over-burdening a demotion could mean an elimination of the tension and anxiety associated with their former jobs (More, 1962).

General Consequences of Mobility

Finally, consideration is given to the consequences mobility has upon society in general. Both positive and negative results are discussed here. Immobility and its effect on the poor are also studied.

Some Benefits

Sorokin (1959) lists six possible results of a mobile society that would affect its internal processes.

1) An open society in which mobility is accepted allows for a distribution of individuals according to their abilities and not on inheritance or wealth.

2) When individuals are given jobs and status commensurate with their abilities they operate more efficiently and thus aid in the progression of society.

3) Mobility may help maintain social order. When individuals are satisfied with their movement into jobs of their liking, it is less likely that they will do anything to upset the existing social or political order.

4) In a mobile society the various cultures are not easily maintained. As individuals move in and out of strata they help in the diffusion of class and ethnic cultures and aid in the destruction of stable cultures.

5) In a mobile society feelings of antagonism toward others and solidarity within a group are more subject to change. Movement from one stratum to another causes feelings of antagonism to change direction from groups to individuals. Group prejudice may be weakened and individual frictions develop in their place. Also, feelings of group solidarity decrease with class movement for the individual feels less association with a new group than he would if he had maintained his position in the old one.

6) Individualism is fostered by mobility because it weakens the attachment between the person and his cultural group with its corresponding customs, beliefs, values and life-style.

The Structural Dysfunctions of Mobility

Tumin (1957) takes a more negative view of the consequences of mobility for society. First, he points to the quest for status as a cause of the development of special interest groups, clubs and organizations, all attempting in some way to amass prestige. They operate mainly on the basis of privilege, wealth, personal style and background and in so doing run counter to the democratic principles that, in the first place, enabled the growth of a theoretically open society. This inevitably creates alienation and loss of faith in democratic ideals, ultimately resulting in the devaluation of the democratic system as a whole.

Secondly, a society that values success may create an attitude among its workers that replaces the importance of work with the appearance of success. When the work itself is no

longer the criteria for success and the appearance of success becomes most important, work itself will suffer. No longer will the best skills be utilized, nor will society be able to reap the benefits of the creative or innovative talents of its members. This inevitably leads to a rejection of the worth of a person on the basis of his work and personal qualities, and results in a lack of democratic integration in the society. Men are then denied a basis for true equality—that of their personal worth. The result is both self and social alienation.

Thirdly, those people who have moved upward in the social structure and are enjoying its benefits are not likely to engage in criticism of the establishment that enabled them to make the move. Unfortunately, this is ultimately detrimental to a healthy society, for open criticism is essential to the continuation of a mobile society.

Fourth, a general feeling of insecurity can develop among people who have moved up and away from their families and cultures. This is especially true if the newly won wealth and prestige is marginal.

How the Poor Aid the Non-Poor

For those members of the lower classes who are denied mobility only negative consequences ensue for them personally. Occasionally, however, their misfortunes have positive results for others. Herbert Gans (1972) in an essay on "The Positive Functions of Poverty" focuses on the meaning and importance of poverty for society. He maintains that:

1) One of the most obvious functions of the poor is to do work—the "dirty work" that others refuse to do but that must, nevertheless, be done. They also enable others, both individuals and companies through their low wages, to use more of their income for other things such as the making of more money. Since the poor pay a greater percentage of their income on taxes than do their wealthier counterparts, they likewise help maintain governmental institutions and programs from which the wealthy also benefit. They are used for medical research that more frequently results in benefits for affluent patients.

2) Institutions have developed around the poor which, in turn, pay salaries to others such as police, welfare agencies, job corps and other less socially acceptable types like drug or liquor dealers, gambling agents, pawn shop owners and others (pimps, prostitutes, slum lords).

3) The poor also are ecologically important for society. Old or stale food, used clothing and furniture, and run-down cars and houses are all an integral part of

their life style. They use the services of some individuals such as doctors or lawyers who may not be able to get other clients.

4) Poor people are easily classified as deviants by the rest of society to reinforce their feelings of normalcy. Therefore, they may be persecuted, prosecuted, and punished to help maintain a feeling of community solidarity. They also provide the non-poor with a means of demonstrating and practicing their religious and moral ethics through donations and charitable work. Thus, the non-poor feel fortunate in their own circumstances and are more satisfied with their lives.

5) Having been identified as sexually promiscuous, the poor may provide others with vicarious fantasies and enjoyment.

6) Poor people also act as a boundary for those who are unsure of their positions in the social strata. They help in establishing a measurement primarily for the working class and help them feel more adequate in their positions.

7) They assist the mobility of others through their subsidy of goods and services. In this way they enable those who provide these goods and services to become financially successful. The upper classes and the churches too, depend on the poor to help legitimize their roles. Through charities they can evoke both sympathy and support for their existence.

8) Masses of poor traditionally have helped in the building of most civilizations. Their art and culture may be fashionably collected or practiced by the more affluent (radical chic).

9) Politically, they are valuable for several reasons. Both liberals and conservatives at various times need and use the poor to justify their programs and build political bases. Secondly, it is they who feel and absorb the effects of industrial and social change. They are the ones who are moved when new buildings or highways are constructed.[1]

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[1]On this point, a mountain of documentary material is available. As one example, see Jerome J. Salomone, *Before the Highway. Scotlandville, Louisiana, A Black Community in the Path of an Interstate Highway*. New Orleans, LA: Urban Studies Institute, Louisiana State University at New Orleans, 1971.

10) Finally, because they are not active politically they are important in politics. However, if they do exercise their political rights they can be powerful both numerically and ideologically. (They have been traditionally Democratic and now that the working class is moving toward the Republican party they may become even more important in the future.)

The Consequences of Mobility and the Role of Education

Americans seem to embrace and profess an unending faith in educational institutions. By redirecting the educational enterprise, it is believed, modifications can be made to ameliorate the personal and social dysfunctions associated with mobility or its absence. A comprehensive educational ideology envisions the school as the means through which occupational failure is to be corrected; and, moreover, education emerges as the institutional framework for alleviating any and all unexpected hazards related to mobility. But that is not all, education, it is thought, is capable of overcoming or reducing crime, juvenile delinquency, racial discrimination and poverty.

Whether in matters political, economical, racial, or otherwise, education is the quintessential hope of the nation. Such is the manifest destiny of American education. Notwithstanding this impressive mandate, educational institutions in the United States are not all-of-one-piece. One significant segment or "piece" of the system of education in America is vocational education. The special role of vocational education and its relation to mobility is a matter of great importance and urgency in contemporary education. Its prospects and promise are taken-up in the following chapter.

V. MOBILITY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Vocational and General Education

Vocational education in America has had a rich, variegated, and sometimes turbulent history. Its antecedents can be discovered in the belief that acquisition of manual skills has the beneficial side-effect of improving intellectual ability. From the beginning, Americans have been convinced study without training is empty while training without study is sterile.[1] Although this ancient philosophical assumption underlies learning in America, its implementation in the educational process has been uneven. Arguments have arisen, and continue to persist, over the efficiency of vocational education in its relation to general education.

The emergence of public support for vocational schooling in the early twentieth century accentuated these arguments over the relative merits of each type of learning. Indeed, once the first vocational education law was enacted in 1917, the federal assistance provided in the law resulted not only in financial support for programs in training for gainful employment, but it also created a legal distinction between vocational and general education, where such does not neatly exist in the educational process.

Educational philosophies are abstract and diffuse, whereas funded programs are concrete and specific. Once programs in vocational education were established they necessarily generated a visibility for students and teachers participating in them, thus making their identity an easy matter of routine observation. Critics of vocational education could now disagree with observable activities rather than with philosophical concepts. While the debate lingers, the national commitment to vocational education intensifies. Literally thousands of separate ongoing programs are offered in a wide variety of educational institutions, serving almost 12 million students in 1972, involving an expenditure in combined federal, state, and local funds of over 2.6 billion dollars (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973b).

There seems to be little doubt about the necessity of school-based training for gainful employment in contemporary America. Perhaps, in an earlier era, when formal education was restricted to the leisurely pursuit of "high culture" by the economically privileged,

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[1]Throughout American education study has been equated with academic education, while training has been equated with vocational education.

student bodies were homogeneous and affluent enough to disregard the occupational implications of education.

Society's response to the advent of industrial technology has been universal education. As a consequence, student bodies today are infinitely more diverse than those of yesteryear; they are also more dependent on schooling as a steping-stone to material success. The connection between education and occupational attainment has come into much clearer view. At the same time, the viability of our national economy is heavily dependent on a literate, technically qualified, socially skilled labor force.

Responding to the symbiotic connection between schooling and the economy, vocational education espouses the twin objectives of meeting the manpower needs of society and increasing the occupational options of students. In doing this, the further aim of vocational education is to enhance motivation for all types of learning (Evans, 1971). Whether or not these objectives are attained strikes at the heart of the question: "What is the relation between vocational education and occupational mobility?"

Some Research Problems

Before vocational education's role in occupational attainment can be assessed accurately, we must know with some precision several facts about students in vocational education:

1) What are their social class origins?

2) What are their social class destinations?

3) How do these points of origin and destination compare with those of all students?

4) How do vocational education students compare with students of similar points of origin not enrolled in vocational education programs?

5) What life choices would vocational education students exercise if they were not enrolled in vocational education curriculums?

6) How do the academic aptitudes of vocational education students compare with the academic aptitudes of other students?

In addition to these questions which call attention to students, something must be known about the nature of the jobs for which people in vocational training programs are prepared:

1) What are the entry levels of the jobs in vocational education?

2) What are the labor force demands for these jobs?

3) What are the advancement opportunities for persons in these jobs?

4) What are the income and prestige characteristics of these jobs?

Moreover, we must ascertain certain information about the labor force itself:

1) What is the present distribution of occupations in the labor force?

2) What labor force trends are discernable and/or predictable?

3) How does the prestige structure of the labor force affect vocational training?

4) In what ways does technological change impinge upon the labor force and vocational manpower needs?

Such an imposing array of questions, some of which cannot be answered even provisionally, does not make the task of ascertaining the relation between vocational education and occupational attainment an impossibility. It does, however, reduce any conclusions to tentative and cautious approximations instead of solid findings and proven propositions.

We have not been able to discover a single comprehensive study, national in scope, which studies longitudinally the social class origins and destinations of persons with vocational education backgrounds. This seems to be the single most glaring research need in vocational education, and such an analysis should become one of the highest research priorities in the discipline. Secondary analysis of existing data banks would be an especially fruitful and economical means for conducting such studies. Rich sources of raw data are already available through Project Talent (American Institutes for Research, 1972), the Parnes study (Parnes, et al., 1969), the Coleman Report (Coleman, et al., 1966), the work of Eninger (1965), and perhaps others.

The Definition and Focus of Vocational Education

In any discussion of vocational education, a working definition and a center of focus must first be determined. A discussion in view of this reflection on mobility will be given here.

Definition

Two descriptions have emerged as leading definitions of vocational education. One emphasizes vocational education as ". . . that part of education which makes an individual more employable in one group of occupations than in another. It may be differentiated from general education, which is of almost equal value regardless of the occupation which is to be followed" (Evans, 1971). The second definition of the term vocational education includes ". . . only instruction which is designed to enable persons to succeed in occupations which require less than a baccalaureate degree" (Evans, 1971). Both definitions are useful in recognizing the wide variety of types and levels of vocational training found in the United States.

Focus

The organization of vocational education reflects a mosaic of considerable complexity, with institutional as well as individual foci.

The institution-based model can be affiliated with schools, employers, other agencies, or any combination of the three. Within formal educational institutions, we find vocational programs in the elementary and secondary schools, and in post-secondary schools like vocational and technical institutes, community colleges, and universities. Industry sponsored programs in vocational training take the form of workshops, in-service training, and on-the-job training. Agencies like the military, professional and trade associations, and the federal government (Manpower Development Training Act programs–MDTA) offer a wide range of programs in vocational education.

The person-based model of vocational education is only analytically distinguishable from its institutionally based counterpart, for, ultimately there is a connection between the two. The main difference is that person-centered training in vocations takes place in the home rather than in some institutional setting. Correspondence courses, mainly in adult education, comprise the majority of such efforts. This do-it-yourself approach to vocational education accentuates the self-help concept of learning. The comparison between institutional and person-centered programs is unbalanced, with the preponderance of vocational training occurring in institutions. But this, nevertheless, should not discount the importance of individualized preparation for the world of work.

The Limits of Sub-professionalism in Vocational Educational

As we have observed previously, the purposes of either institutional or individual preparation for employment are the same: (1) to increase personal occupational options and (2) to satisfy society's manpower needs.

To these ends, vocational education programs at the sub-professional level are directed to the entire range of occupational categories within the occupational structure, including agriculture, distribution, health, home economics, office, technical and trade, and industrial occupations. The key phrase, here, is "at the sub-professional level." Aiming as it does at jobs with less than professional status, training in vocational education carries with it certain limitations on individual occupational mobility. These limitations can be best illuminated by recognizing some central characteristics of the professions, namely:

1) possession of specialized intellectual skills and a body of theory acquired over a long period of time;

2) a mandate and a license supported by the state to delve into the personal affairs of some clientele;

3) some self regulating mechanism for autonomous control over recruiting, standards of performance, and occupational ethics (Hall, 1969).

All three characteristics interact with one another to yield a special place of power and privilege for those whose work is recognized as professional. Self-regulation, however, more than anything else, "guarantees" to the professional a favored place in the occupational structure which he is not likely to relinquish. This means, for example, the practical nurse, medical technician, or draftsman, all of whom might have acquired their skills in vocational schools, have little chance of becoming a registered nurse, medical doctor, or engineer, no matter how capable they are, without first acquiring at least the baccalaureate degrees appropriate to their occupational interests.[2]

The relative tenacity and inflexibility of the prestige structure of occupations was established in Chapter 1. Also noticeable, is the tendency of professions to cluster at the top of the prestige hierarchy. What this means, then, in essence, is unless vocational education stakes a claim to professionalization in its own right, there is little chance that its practitioners will enjoy high occupational status. Perhaps this is too much to ask. Many claim the avowed intentions of vocational education do not include elevation to the heights of occupational success. Mobility on such a grand scale, they say, is not the ambition of vocational training. Rather, the goal of vocational education, according to the argument, is or should be more limited, restricting itself to training persons for entry-level jobs in the semiskilled and skilled blue-collar occupations, and in low or middle level white-collar occupations.

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[2]While it is true there are several avenues to becoming a registered nurse, even here, the registered nurse who is a college graduate is disproportionately over-represented among nursing administrators.

Those who argue the efficiency of this position are not totally disinterested in mobility, to be sure, but they emphasize the benefits of training otherwise unemployable people for gainful employment. Indeed, the argument has some forcefulness, when it is recognized that virtually every effort made in the past decade to eradicate poverty in America has involved vocational training in one way or another. Some glimpse of this vital role of vocational education can be gleaned from recognizing that in 1972:

> A total of 1,616,621 disadvantaged persons and 221,342 handicapped persons received special services in order to succeed in vocational education and represented an increase over FY 1971 of 14.3 percent and 6.1 percent respectively (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973b).

Although Table 4 does not explicitly reveal anything about mobility per se, it does indicate a remarkably high percentage of employment, 91.9 percent, for students completing programs in preparatory vocational education.

Career Education and Mobility

It is evident from the recent emphasis on career education that vocational educators are concerned with mobility. Career education, as a concept, first received national attention and emphasis when U.S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr. delivered his "Career Education Now" speech in 1971. Though the concept is new, its historical antecedents are firmly rooted in educational philosophy, legislation, and research (Goldhammer and Taylor, 1972).

Goldhammer and Taylor's (1972) candid appraisal of career education readily acknowledges its current definitional shortcomings:

> Probably the most accurate and honest statement to be made at this time is that career education remains to be precisely defined. Although Commissioner of Education Marland and other educational leaders have given considerable attention to this 'movement,' it is not yet guided by a universally accepted definition. In fact, the strategy is to leave the matter of definition open to as much dialogue and interaction as possible.

Even though the concept "career education" eludes specific definition, certain of its essential characteristics are evident. Career education:

1) is multi-dimensional, aiming to equip individuals for many roles: economic, community, home, avocational, religious, and aesthetic;

TABLE 4

Follow-up of Program Completions in Preparatory Vocational Education[1]
Fiscal Year 1972

	Total, All Programs[2]		Secondary		Post-secondary		Adult (Preparatory)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Completed Program Requirements[3]	930,213	100.0	558,322	100.0	197,951	100.0	173,930	100.0
Available for placement	547,691	58.9	297,170	53.2	139,359	70.4	111,162	63.9
Not available for placement	258,440	27.8	203,582	36.5	32,947	16.6	21,911	12.6
Status unknown	124,072	13.3	57,570	10.3	25,645	13.0	40,857	23.5
Not Available for Placement	258,440	100.0	203,582	100.0	32,947	100.0	21,911	100.0
Continued full-time school	183,188	70.9	150,442	73.9	20,479	62.2	12,267	56.0
Other reasons	75,252	29.1	53,140	26.1	12,468	37.8	9,644	44.0
Available for Placement	547,691	100.0	297,170	100.0	139,359	100.0	111,162	100.0
Employed in field trained or related	416,675	76.1	207,863	69.9	118,602	85.1	90,210	81.1
Other employment	86,721	15.8	60,630	20.4	13,109	9.4	12,982	11.7
Unemployed	44,295	8.1	28,677	9.7	7,648	5.5	7,970	7.2

[1]Status of persons as of November 1972.

[2]No reports—California, Colorado, Hawaii, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, American Samoa, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands.

[3]Includes 72,421 persons who terminated their training in a program prior to normal completion time and were employed in field for which trained.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 1973b:18.

2) aims to supply persons with information and skills which will allow them to choose more rationally from an increasing number of career options;

3) seeks to provide a comprehensive learning experience in which educational and employment opportunities remain open at several levels (Goldhammer and Taylor, 1972).

Without specifically mentioning it, these goals of career education clearly resonate a call for increasing opportunities for mobility in vocational education. The very phrase "career education" highlights the intention of its proponents: to emphasize careers, which are conventionally thought of as orderly sequences of jobs in an occupation or set of related occupations in which the desirable employment stages involve progressive movement away from jobs of lower skill and pay to those of higher skill and pay. Proponents of career education are not content with mere job entry, they are also vitally concerned about job progression or occupational mobility. The most recent statement bearing on this matter comes from the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1973a). They affirm: "The initial emphasis for the National Institute of Education Career Education Research and Development Program will be the responsiveness of career education to the problems people experience in finding the right jobs and advancing in them."

Whatever future success career education will enjoy within vocational education is a matter of conjecture at this "moment" in the brief history of this educational movement. One thing seems certain, however, those persons with training in career or vocational education, as well as all others, will be subject to the same forces enhancing and constraining mobility.

Constraints on Mobility in Vocational Education

The mobility of individuals in vocational education is constrained by the stability of the social classes, a lack of unified vested interests within vocational education, and a conflict of vested interests between professional vocational educators and the rank-and-file.

The Stability of Social Classes

One constraining force on mobility, is the overall general stability of stratificational systems everywhere. Social classes represent something fundamental about society. They are the structural mechanisms through which opportunity and privilege are articulated; classes are also the means by which the absence of opportunity and disprivilege are perpetuated. It

then becomes crucial to know from which social classes students receiving career or vocational training are recruited. Stratificational theory suggests they come from the lower and working classes and further, that to the extent upward mobility is involved, their class destinations are the working class (blue-collar—semiskilled and high-skilled occupations) and lower levels of the middle class (white-collar—low and middle-skilled occupations). This conclusion follows from what already has been observed in Chapter 1, namely: (1) inter-generational studies show sons entering occupations different from their fathers', but beginning work within their fathers' same general occupational levels; and (2) while there is considerable intra-generational mobility, it tends to be predominantly movement from one level to the next within the same social class.

Lack of Unified Vested Interests

A second factor affecting the mobility aspirations of vocationally trained persons concerns the extent to which they are represented by powerful vested interest groups once they are employed. Is their quest for economic gain through occupational advancement championed by unions, associations, or cooperatives which can bring collective pressures to bear upon their employers? There is presently no reliable research evidence to offer an answer to this question. However, vocational education is responsive to labor force trends, and the trend of the labor force is in the direction of rapid expansion of the services sector of the economy. It happens that this sector is the one least amenable to collective organization. Therefore, barring any unforeseen turnabouts, collective action in the future may very well play a steady or declining role in the mobility aspirations of those trained in vocational education.

Conflicting Vested Interests

Related to this second point is a third concerning the conflict of interest between professional educators and the rank-and-file students. Chances for improving the economic status of a group are associated with the demand for, and supply of, people with the training required to perform the necessary work. Political organizations, like unions and professional associations, perform the valuable (to their members) service of controlling in order to limit recruitment into the occupation or industry in question. At this time, vocational practitioners have little means at their disposal to regulate themselves. They have no unified organizational voice by which they can create and develop for themselves a more favorable place in the nation's economy. As a consequence, forces outside of vocational education are shaping its future. Consolidating rather than expanding vocational education could best serve the economic interests of its constituents. Instead, the contemporary pattern of development in

vocational education is expansionism and further splintering of already thinly spread resources. As a result, within the next 20 years the diversity, complexity, and general magnitude of vocational education will be such that its practitioners will find themselves in approximately the same class position they now occupy. The nation is very likely to commit itself in the 1970's to the same overreaction in vocational and technical education that it experienced in the 1960's concerning the physical sciences and the influences of the sputnik era.

Reasonable explanations for this state of affairs do not easily surface, but one partial account seems to have some strength. Professional vocational educators have class interests different from those of the persons they train. The elaboration of present programs in vocational education, as well as the initiation of new ones, creates additional teaching, research, and administrative opportunities for those in charge of such activities. Empire building is no less a threat in vocational education than it is in higher education, business, or government. Reputation, advancement, economic success, and power typically depend upon growth and development rather than consolidation.[3] There is no conspiratorial scheme surreptitiously designed by professional vocational educators to accomplish this end. Instead, what appears to be occurring is a simple reflection of a natural human tendency to capitalize on available chances. In this case, the chance is to build through growth. But our thesis is, this growth enhances mobility among professional educators and administrators more than it does the rank-and-file students of vocational education.

Of course, there is a compelling counter-argument to this line of reasoning. Consolidation no doubt would strengthen the economic position of those who do manage to acquire vocational skills, but it would simultaneously limit access to these skills thereby compromising the American ideal of egalitarianism in education. Many deserving aspirants would be screened out and, consequently, denied access to the training they desire. Mobility of some would be accentuated at the expense of many. Vocational educators could find such an elitist educational strategy contemptable, especially since vocational training seems to appeal particularly to the lower-middle, working, and lower classes in our society.

To speak of persons with vocational training as if they constitute a social class ignores their heterogeneity and runs against the grain of contemporary thought. There are manifold occupational differences among them, ranging from professionals to semiskilled laborers. They are represented in all the major occupational categories found in the labor force. Nevertheless, excluding highly skilled manual and technical workers, C. W. Mills' apt description of

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[3]These observations apply equally as well to higher education, especially graduate training in university communities where the multiplication and elaboration of programs already has reached dangerous proportions.

the white-collar worker fits well the condition of former students of vocational education now in the world of work:

> (They) slipped quietly into modern society. Whatever history they have had is a history without events; whatever common interests they have do not lead to unity; whatever future they have will not be of their own making. If they aspire at all it is to a middle course, at a time when no middle course is available and hence to an illusory course in an imaginary society. Internally, they are split, fragmented; externally, they are dependent on larger forces. Even if they gained the will to act, their actions, being unorganized, would be less a movement then a tangle of unconnected contests. As a group, they do not threaten anyone; as individuals, they do not practice an independent way of life. So before an adequate idea of them could be formed, they have been taken for granted as familiar actors of the urban mass (Mills, 1951).

Demographic Considerations and Mobility

Immigration and fertility trends have important implications for mobility. And, as such they will be considered here.

Immigration

Historically, America has moved away from an "open door" acceptance of any and all foreigners toward more selective migration practices. This shift has had the twofold effect of reducing the overall number of immigrants, and simultaneously of changing the characteristics of those who do immigrate so that proportionately more of them now have demonstrable occupational skills when they arrive. The effect of these changes has been to diminish the "push factor" which previously encouraged occupational advancement of the indigenous population. In the past, large numbers of unskilled immigrants took their place at or near the bottom of the labor force, pushing upward those individuals already employed. Presently, the relatively few arrivals to this country have skills which place them in direct competition with the native population for jobs, especially in the manual occupations.

Fertility

The single most outstanding fact about the contemporary birthrate in American society is its steady decline since the post World War II "baby boom." The crude birthrate, defined as the number of births per 1,000 population, declined from 25.0 in 1955, to 23.7 in 1960, to 19.4 in 1965, to 17.9 in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971b). Even in absolute numbers, there has been a decrease in per year births. Not since 1960 has there been over 4 million

births in any one year period; the figure for 1970 was 3,718,000. The mobility implications of the trend in fertility are not as easily surmised as those related to immigration. Nevertheless, one optimistic conclusion regarding life styles seems defensible. Associated with the decline in fertility is a decrease in average family size, which, in turn, increases per capita income. As per capita income increases more money is naturally available to support each person in a family unit, even disregarding any additional income. Consequently, the economic status of the family is strengthened. This condition does not affect the social class standing of the head of the household and his children immediately, but it may well have the long-term effect of allowing his children to remain in school longer and thereby obtaining the mobility benefits associated with greater education. The working and lower classes stand to benefit more than the middle and upper classes from this demographic change in fertility, should it continue, because they are the ones least able to afford comparatively large families. They are also the ones who are most likely to have large families.

Racial and Ethnic Group Participation

The appeal of vocational education to disadvantaged groups in America has been gaining national attention since the early 1960's. Most observers believe the Kennedy administration with its call for a "war on poverty" ushered in this modern focus. Growing out of this renewed national concern was the Vocational Educational Act of 1963 (since amended in 1968) which reflected substantial increases in financial support for vocational training in general. The Act also assigned monies for programs for disadvantaged minorities. Enrollment statistics for racial and ethnic minorities in 1972 indicate the impact of the 1963 and 1968 legislation (See Table 5).

Twenty-five percent of all funds for vocational education are presently dedicated to programs for disadvantaged minorities. Twenty percent of the students in these programs are Americans with Indian, Negro, Oriental, or Spanish (Latin American) ancestry. Of all efforts in vocational education, these programs offer the brightest prospects of improving the life chances of those they serve. Students in these programs come predominantly from lower class origins. Some will exploit the opportunity provided them through vocational training to lift themselves and their families of procreation into the working class.

Tomorrow's Jobs

Predicting opportunities for occupational advancement is alarmingly difficult, to say the least. It is not enough to consider the motivations and skills of particular workers, or the preferences and dispositions of employers. The occupational profile of the nation's

TABLE 5

Estimated Enrollment in Vocational Education by Racial/Ethnic Groups[1]
Fiscal Year 1972

	Total	American Indian	Negro	Oriental	Spanish Surnamed American	Other
Grand Total	11,049,469	83,074	1,660,585	98,962	735,516	8,471,332
Regular	9,294,710	49,608	1,155,046	86,884	538,650	7,464,522
Disadvantaged	1,541,645	30,550	452,426	10,695	185,356	862,618
Handicapped	213,114	2,916	53,113	1,383	11,510	144,192
Secondary	6,865,553	61,014	1,127,253	69,135	463,689	5,144,462
Post-secondary	1,266,105	8,694	139,149	14,216	95,238	1,008,808
Adult	2,917,811	13,366	394,183	15,611	176,589	2,318,062

[1]No reports—Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Minnesota, Guam, Virgin Islands

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 1972b:10.

economy must be considered as well. This is no easy task. No one can accurately forecast the future. But educated guesses are made, nevertheless.[4]

An estimated 100.7 million workers are expected to be gainfully employed in 1980, representing an increase over 1970 of approximately 15 million new jobs. Continuing a trend characteristic of our post-industrial economy, most new openings will be in service related industries as contrasted with goods producing ones. This means employment in transportation and public utilities, trade, finance, and real estate, services, and government will be comparatively more numerous than those in manufacturing, construction, mining, and agriculture. Projections through the 1970's are shown in Figure 5 which indicate wide variations in growth rates by selected occupational categories.

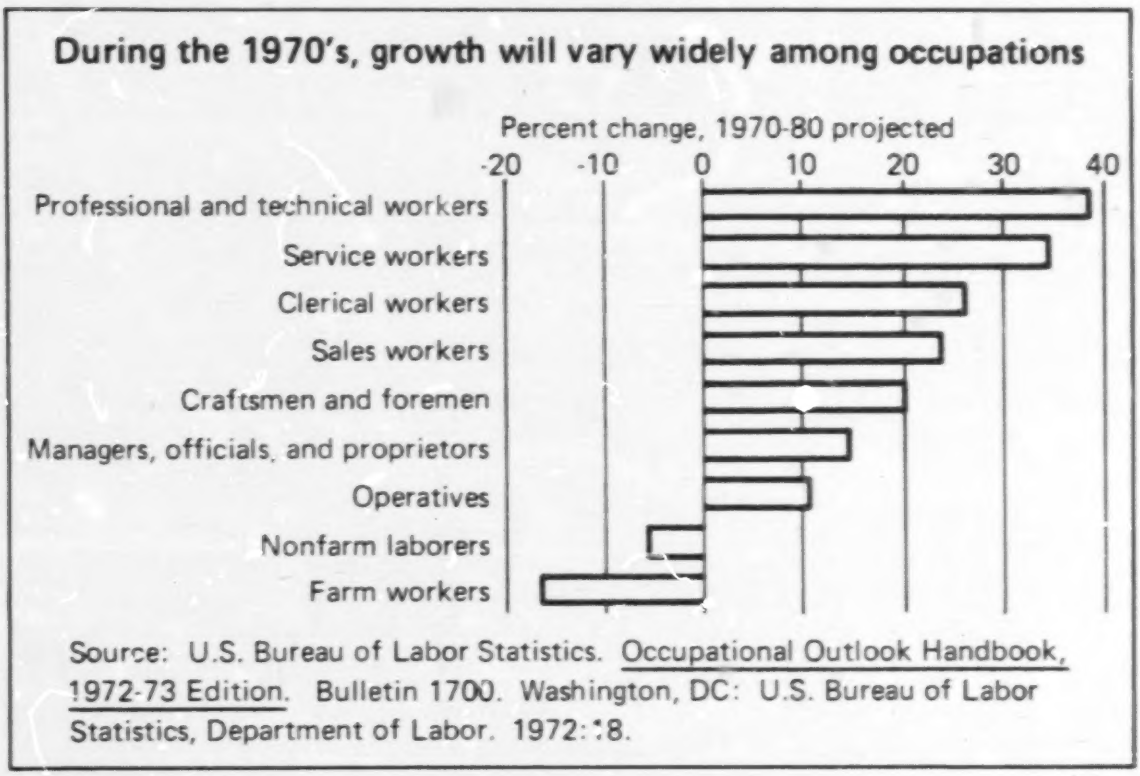

Figure 5. Growth Variance Among Occupations

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[4]This section based on U.S. Department of Labor information contained in *Occupational Outlook Handbook: 1972-1973 Edition.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor. 1972.

Growth rates alone give only a partial picture of occupational opportunities. Many new openings occur because of replacements due to death, retirement, and other labor force separations. In fact, in the 10 year period between 1970-1980 replacement needs are expected to outnumber growth needs in every occupational classification except the professions and technical employment, as is depicted in Figure 6.

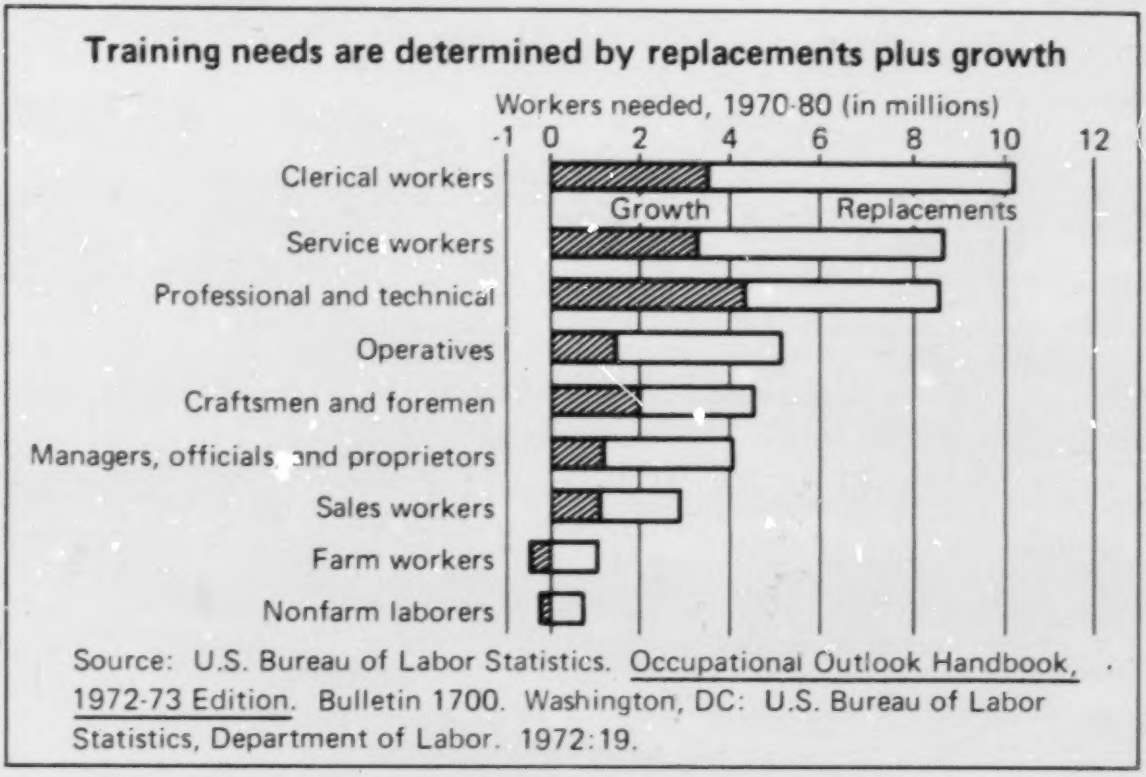

Figure 6. Training Needs

Prospects for Mobility for Vocationally Trained Persons

Analysis of job openings and educational trends reveals an important inconsistency between employment and education. Three facts stand out in this respect:

1) Opportunities for new jobs overwhelmingly are found in blue and white-collar occupations requiring vocational training.

2) The need for unskilled workers continues to decline, as it has for some time now.

3) Except for medicine and dentistry, the number of college graduates at both the undergraduate and graduate levels is more than adequate to satisfy the needs of the professions.

Commenting on these trends Evans (1971) observes:

> As shortages of skilled personnel have increased, and as surpluses of college graduates have increased, normal economic forces are in the process of inverting the pay structures of these two fields. In community after community beginning firemen, policemen, truck drivers, and persons in other occupations for which little or no vocational training has been provided start at higher salaries than school teachers, city planners, architects, lawyers, and persons in many other professional occupations for which four to six years of occupational training has been provided by society. Trends indicate that soon the average salaries will follow the same course that starting salaries have taken. Not only are wages changing, but working conditions are improving as well. Skilled workers who are in short supply can and do demand working conditions which are the equal of those provided to white-collar workers in every respect.
>
> These changes seem to signify a new era of status for the well qualified nonprofessional, and consequently a new status for the vocational education instructor who can meet society's needs.

Evans' optimistic evaluation of the future of vocational education does not apply to the whole spectrum of education for gainful employment, however. Only a rather small percentage of students in vocational education are being educated for highly skilled employment. A very large majority of them are trained for jobs which do not require sophisticated skills. What about the chances for mobility of the well qualified nonprofessional whose job entails some, but not much skill? What is his future? It appears relatively unchanged. He will make little or no stratificational gains in the foreseeable future. In fact, as the number of college graduates continues to skyrocket, the student with white-collar vocational skills will find increased competition for employment from the ranks of these college graduates.

While there is little cause for enthusiasm over the prospects of significant mobility gains on the part of vocationally trained students, there is certainly every indication they will continue to receive their proportionate share of the wealth to be added to this nation's economy. The gross-national-product continues its steady ascent and real income is rising, which means, short of a steep, prolonged depression or runaway inflation, the level of living will improve for everyone. But to say everyone should be materially more secure in the years ahead is not the same as saying social classes will change appreciably. The relative positions of the various classes will remain fairly stationary. Nothing short of revolutionary change can alter that condition.

Sociological Research on Mobility

As we search for some final concluding comment about sociological research on mobility in America it becomes more and more apparent that that comment must be about sociologists rather than about mobility. The focus of sociological research is overwhelmingly unidirectional, pointing unmistakingly to the personal and social problems associated with mobility. Sociologists have gone to great length to demonstrate how social and occupational mobility tends to increase the probability of family disorganization, conflict, alienation, physical and mental illness, the decline of community, marginality, and, even, upward skidding. We are left with an uncomfortable feeling. Is mobility worth it? What is to be gained from mobility? Answers to these questions are assumed by sociologists (and everyone else, apparently). There is little chance the quest for mobility will subside, or that society will be torn apart from it. Nor is that the intent of sociological research. But why is the research so one-sided, focusing as it does on the "demerits" of occupational success?

The explanation is to be found in the philosophical and historical foundations of the discipline. From the time of August Comte in the middle nineteenth century, when the discipline evolved, sociology has evidenced a problematic orientation. The founding fathers were fundamentally concerned with correcting what they considered to be the evils of society. Consequently, a moral dimension historically guided which questions were asked and what kinds of solutions were sought by early sociologists. With the coming of empiricism in the 1920's and the subsequent accentuation of quantification and objectivity, the moral infrastructure of sociology retreated from the conscious concerns of sociologists. It never vanished completely, however, as a guiding force of unknown proportions in affecting the shape of sociological research. Contemporary sociologists are occasionally reminded of their hidden moralistics, especially when some attempt is made at taking stock.

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